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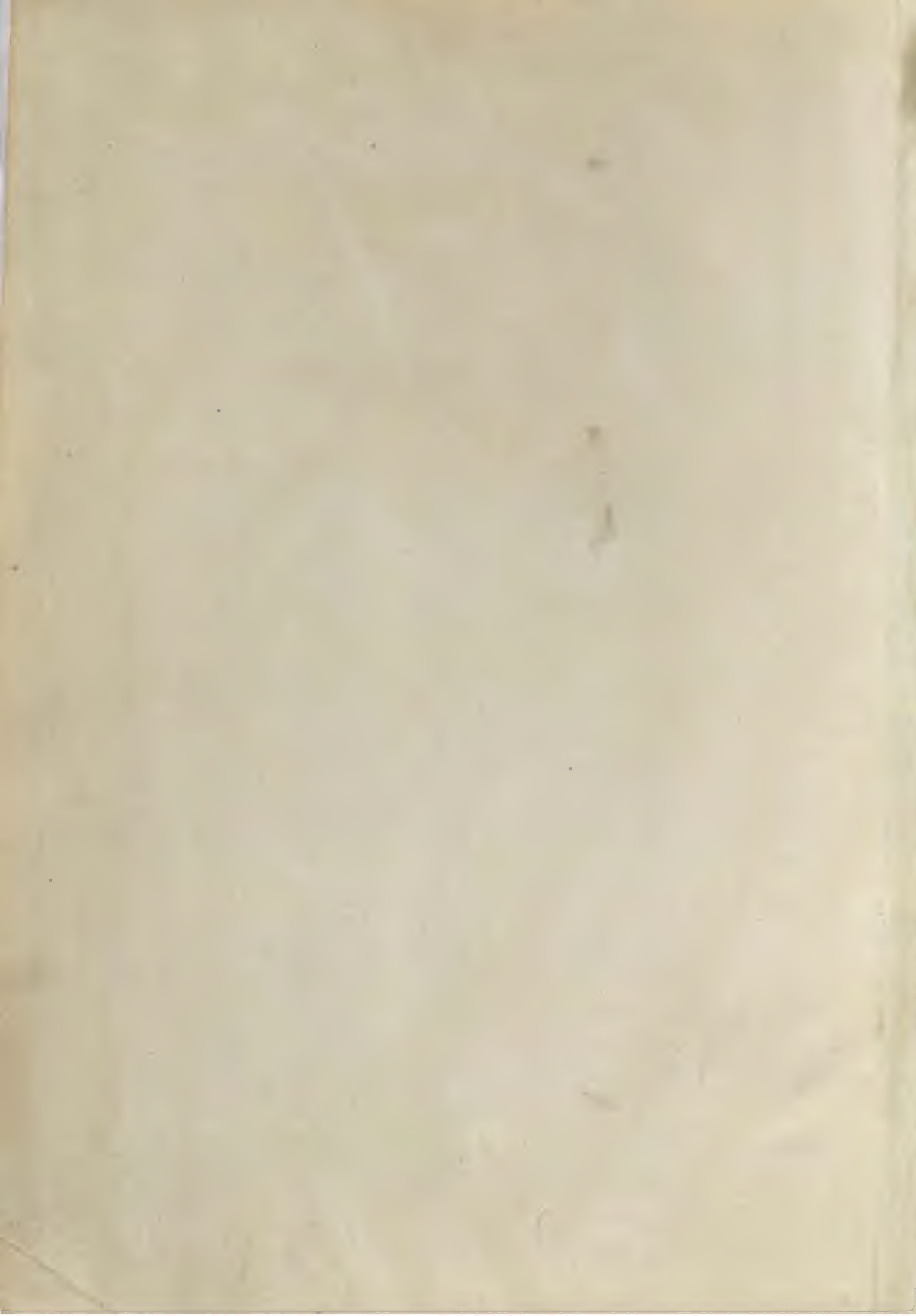
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# CONTENTS

Pages

Kashmir Shawls

—Moti Chandra .. .. . 1-24

A Group of Bundi Miniatures

—Karl J. Khandalawala .. .. . 25-35

A Descriptive List of the Clay Seals

—S. N. Chakravarti .. .. . 36-39

Note on an Inscribed Bronze Jaina Image

—S. N. Chakravarti .. .. . 40-42

Some Aspects of Yaksha Cult in Ancient India

—Moti Chandra .. .. . 43-62

An Early Bronze Image of Parśvanāth

Umakant Premanand Shah .. .. . 63-65

Jaina Sculpture from Lāḍol

—Umakant Premanand Shah .. .. . 66-73

My Tour to Saurashtra

—R. G. Gyani .. .. . 74-81

The Chinkara or Indian Gazelle

—S. Thomas Satyamurti .. .. . 82-84

General .. .. .

85-94

Appendix .. .. .

95-102

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## KASHMIR SHAWLS

By Moti Chandra

The history of shawl-weaving with which the history of woollen textile in this country is closely associated is rather obscure. No connected account of textile materials except a short notice in the *Arthaśāstra* is available, and for the history of early Indian textiles we have to depend on casual references whose interpretations are not wholly certain. Even in later works such as the *Varṇaratnākara* and the *‘Āin-i-Akbarī* which give long lists of textiles the difficulty of interpretation is great as the articles are not properly described. Recently Mr. John Irwin<sup>1</sup> in his article on the Kashmir Shawl has discussed certain interesting facts about the shawl manufacture of Kashmir and shown the difficulties about dating the shawls. He has utilised mainly the European sources some of which are inaccessible for research in India. Mr. Irwin, however, is not certain about the origin of the shawl industry in India and records the tradition current in Kashmir (quoted by Baron Von Hugel) that it was founded by Zain-ul-Ābidin (1420-70 A.D.) who is said to have introduced Turkestan weavers in Kashmir for the purpose. Mr. Irwin examines the possibility that the original Kashmir shawl weavers might have been immigrants as certain unique features of the industry distinguish it from the traditional weaving in India proper; the most significant being the technique employed which has a parallel in Persia and Central Asia but nowhere in Indo-Pakistan continent. This is the twill-tapestry technique in which the wefts are inserted by means of floating wooden bobbins (*tojis*) on a simple loom without the use of a shuttle. The weft threads alone form the patterns and do not run the full width of the cloth, being woven back and forth round the warp threads only where each particular colour is needed in the pattern. It is possible that the technique of twill-tapestry weaving may be of foreign origin, but whether it was introduced in India in the 15th century is open to doubt as will be seen presently.

The earliest information about the woollen fabrics manufactured in India is available from Vedic literature. The references, however, being scanty their interpretation at times is doubtful. It is, however, certain that sheep's wool was used for spinning and therefore the sheep was called *ūrṇāvatī*<sup>2</sup> and the wool *āvika*.<sup>3</sup> The

1. Irwin, *The Kashmir shawl*, Marga, VI, 1 (1952), pp. 43-50.

2. R.V. VIII, 67, 3.

3. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up.* II, 3, 6.

valley of Sindh has been called *suvāsā ūṛṇāvātī*<sup>4</sup> because sheep's wool and cloth were available there in plenty. The sheep of Gandhāra were famous,<sup>5</sup> and the regions through which the Rāvi flowed was noted for its washed or coloured woollen fabrics.<sup>6</sup> Pūshaṇ is mentioned as a weaver of woollen fabrics. *Kambala*, a generic term for blankets and shawls, appearing for the first time in the *Atharvaveda*<sup>7</sup> is according to Pryzłuski an Austric loan word in Indo-Aryan.<sup>8</sup> *Dūrśa* from which probably *dhussā*, a rough woollen *chādar* from the Panjāb and Kashmīr derives its etymology, occurs for the first time in the *Atharvaveda*<sup>9</sup> but it is difficult to say anything about the form or material used in the manufacture of Vedic *dūrśa*. Another fabric mentioned in the later *Samhitas*<sup>10</sup> and the *Brāhmaṇas*<sup>11</sup> is *pāṇḍva* which the kings wore at the time of sacrifices. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*<sup>12</sup> mentions *pāṇḍvāvika* which was made from the sheep's wool and was possibly a woollen *chādar* or a shawl.

It is not known whether the goats wool from which the modern Kashmīr shawls are woven was used in Vedic period, though the sacred nature of the black antelope skin has been emphasised at many places in Vedic literature.<sup>13</sup>

Whether the woollen fabrics in Vedic age were patterned is not known. However, there are references to show that brocades were known.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps *ārokāḥ*<sup>15</sup> also expresses some kind of fabric with decorated borders. *Peśas* seems to have been a generic term for embroidery<sup>16</sup> and needle work seems to have been an important profession.<sup>17</sup> In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>18</sup> *nivids* are called the embroidered patterns of the hymns. The simile used there throws some light on the process of pattern making. Such work was done on the upper part of the warp, in the middle and in the lower part. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*<sup>19</sup> mentions at one place that when a woman needle-worker after embroidering one pattern took to another then the second pattern was more beautiful than the first one (*tadyathā peśakārī peśaso mātrāmupādānyataram kalyāṇataram rūpam tanute*).

4. R.V. X, 75, 8.

5. R.V. I, 126, 7.

6. R.V. IV, 22, 2; V, 52, 9.

7. A.V. XIV, 2, 66-67.

8. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, pp. 6-8.

9. A.V. IV, 7, 6; VIII, 6, 11.

10. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, IV, 4, 3.

11. *Śat. Brā.* V, 3, 5, 5, 21.

12. B.U. I, 3, 6.

13. Moti Chandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Vesha-Bhūṣā*, pp. 11-12.

14. *Hiranyān prati atkān*, R.V. V, 55, 6.

15. *Ś.B.* III, 1, 2, 13.

16. R.V. IV, 36, 7.

17. *Vāja. Sam.* XXX, 9.

18. A.B. II, 10.

19. B.U. VI, I, 10.



Some interesting information could be gathered about the woollen fabrics and shawls from Buddhist literature and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is interesting to note that needle work (*pesakākara-sippa*) was considered to be a low form of handicraft,<sup>20</sup> perhaps, it was practised by the people of low caste. In common with Vedic literature *kambala* is a generic term for woollen shawls.<sup>21</sup> The *Jātakas*<sup>22</sup> mention the deep red shawls of *Gandhāra* (*indagopakavaṇṇābhā gandhārāpaṇḍukambalā*). The *Mahāvāṇija Jātaka*,<sup>23</sup> in its list of precious things, mentions costly shawls from Uḍḍiyāna or modern Swāt. Even now Torwal produces gaily coloured blankets known in India as Swāti rugs. The country of the Śibis was also famous for shawls which were known as *Siveyyaka dussa*.<sup>24</sup> It is mentioned in Śivi Jātaka<sup>25</sup> that the king of Kosala presented a shawl of Śivi (*Siveyyaka Vattha*) costing a hundred thousand *Kārshāpaṇas*. In Panjābi and Hindī even now *dhussā* means a rough woollen *chādar*, but in Buddhist times it seems to have been a very costly shawl. Banāras also seems to have manufactured a kind of shawl of mixed fabric in which woollen and linen threads were used. Jivaka Kumārabhṛitya is said to have received such a shawl as gift from the ruler of Kāśī.<sup>26</sup> It is called as *aḍḍha-Kāsika-kambala*. Rhys Davids' explanation that it was a kind of woollen *chādar* in which half the fabric of Banāras origin was used does not give any sense. Buddhaghosa, however, explains the term *Kāśī* here as equivalent to a thousand *Kārshāpaṇas* and thus *aḍḍhakāsiya* according to him was a shawl costing five hundred. It is possible that the shawl had a very light texture as even now very light muslin in Hindī is called *addhī*. Koṭumbara<sup>27</sup> also produced fine woollen fabrics. If Koṭumbara and Odumbara are the same then in ancient times the region about Paṭhānkoṭ near Amritsar was a great centre of shawl weaving. While discussing the variant readings *Kochchhairabakahamsalakshanaḥ* in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, p. 82, verse 87, Pryzluski restitutes the correct text as *Koṭamabakairhamsalakshanaiḥ*, the Koṭambaka cloth ornamented with the figure of geese.<sup>28</sup> It shows that the geese pattern was a favourite motive of the ancient Audumbara weavers.

Ancient Buddhist literature contains several lists of the contemporary woollen textiles, shawls, carpets, etc., whose exact signi-

20. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 251: *Suttavibhaṅga Pācittiya*, II, 2, 1.

21. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 3, 1; J. II, 138.

22. J. VI, 500.

23. J. IV, 352.

24. M.V. VIII, 1, 29.

25. J. IV, 401.

26. M.V. VIII, I, 4; VIII, 2.

27. J. VI, 500, *gāthas* 1786, 1801.

28. J.A. 1926, p. 23.



ficance in several cases is doubtful.<sup>29</sup> *Chittaka* was a woollen bed-spread made of variegated strips; *palikā* was a white woollen carpet; *paṭalikā* was a flowered carpet; *vikaṭikā* was floor carpet, decorated with hunting scenes containing the figures of tigers, lions, etc.; *uddalomī* had fluffy hair on both sides; *ekantalomī* had fluff on one side only; *kuttaka* was a large carpet on which sixteen dancers could perform; *vāhitikā*<sup>30</sup> was a carpet sixteen hands long and eight hands broad; *namataka*<sup>31</sup> was ordinary felt and *kojava*, mentioned in Central Asian documents, was a blanket with long hair like modern *thulmā*.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya assigned to the Maurya period contains some interesting information about the woollen textiles, blankets and shawls.<sup>32</sup> The woollen fabrics (*āvika*) were usually made of sheep's wool and were either plain white, deep red or light red. The shawls are divided into four categories—*khachita*, *vānachitra* and *khaṇḍasamghātya* and *tantuvichchhinna*. The commentary describes *khachita* as *sūchivāna-karma-nishpāditam* which may either mean 'made by weaving and embroidering' or 'made by twill-tapestry process'—the *sūchī* standing here for the *toji* of modern times. If the second explanation is correct then it indicates that even in those ancient days the *tīlikār* process in Kashmīr in which the patterns are woven on the loom and *amlīkar* process in which the patterns are embroidered existed. In *khachita* shawls apparently both processes were employed. The commentary describes *vānachitra* as *vānakarmaṇā kṛitavaiichitryam*. Apparently in this process, as in modern *tīlikār* process, the designs were woven on the loom. The *khaṇḍasamghātya* in the commentary is described as *khachitānām utānām vā bahūnām khaṇḍānām saṁghātena nishpāditam*, i.e. the shawl made by joining many *khachita* or woven pieces. It is apparently a form of Kashmīr shawl in which patterns are woven on many strips measuring from twelve to eighteen inches; then these are either joined to obtain a complete pattern or simply attached to a shawl. These strips are at times embroidered. The *tantuvichchhinna* is described by the commentator as *anutaviśriṣṭaiḥ tantubhiḥ madhya-kṛitavichchhedyam jālakopayogi cha*, i.e. obtaining patterns in the middle by unwoven yarn or a trellis pattern. It is possible that the netted border of a shawl made by tying the unwoven ends is meant here.

Besides the shawl mentioned above, the *Arthaśāstra* mentions some other kinds of blankets and *chādars* whose exact significance

29. *Brahmajāla Sutta*, 16; MV, V, 10, 3.

30. MN, II, 4, 8.

31. CV, X, 10, 4.

32. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Vol. I, p. 193; *Ib.*, ed. by Samasastry, pp. 89-90.



at times is not quite clear. *Kambala* as usual is a generic term for all kinds of woollen fabrics. *Kechalaka-kuchelaka-kauchapaka* was probably a cowherd's blanket, *kalamitakā-kulamitikā-kathamitikā* was either an elephant carpet or a cap; *saumitikā* was a bull carpet; *turagāstarāṇa* a horse carpet; *varṇaka* a coloured blanket; *talich-chhaka* a bed-spread and *paristoma* an elephant jhūl.

From Nepal came two varieties of woollen fabrics *bhīngisī* made of eight pieces which served as a protecting cover against the rains and *apasāraka* might have been something like modern *paṭṭū* or tweed.

Interesting light on the import of woven fabrics and shawls from Kamboja (Tajekistan) and Bāhlika (Bactria) is thrown in chapters 45 and 47 of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* where Yudhishthira receives the presents from the people of distant lands. From Kamboja among other articles were included fabrics made from sheep's wool and the hair of *vṛishadamśa* embroidered with gold,<sup>33</sup> woollen *chādars* (*prāvāra*) and costly shawls (*kambala*).<sup>34</sup> The people of the trans-Indus region also sent shawls.<sup>35</sup> Among the presents received from Bactria and China, besides silken goods, there were articles made of sheep-wool and goat-hair (*rāṅkava*)<sup>36</sup> which were soft and dyed.

It is notable that *raṅku* from whose hair costly shawls were made has simply been mentioned as an animal in the *Amarakośa*.<sup>37</sup> But there is little doubt that *raṅku* is the same as *raṅg* or the shawl-goat mentioned several times by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs and also noticed by Wood.<sup>38</sup> Thus *rāṅkava* is the equivalent of modern *pashmīnā* or *asli-ṭūs*. As mentioned by the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>39</sup> felts were also made from the goat's wool (*rāṅkava-kaṭa*). A lotus-coloured woollen shawl from Afghanistan<sup>40</sup> probably came from Uḍḍiyāna or Swāt where Torwal manufactures red blankets which are known as Swāti blankets even to this day.<sup>41</sup>

Some interesting information is available about the woollen goods manufactured in the early centuries of the Christian era. The generic term for shawls and woollen fabric was *kambala*.<sup>42</sup> *Dūśya*

33. MB. II, 47, 3.

34. MB. II, 45, 19.

35. MB. II, 47, 11.

36. MB. II, 47, 22.

37. *Amarakośa*. II, 6, 111.

38. Wood, A., *Journey to the Sources of Oxus*; Introduction, p. 57, London, 1872.

39. MB. III, 225, 9.

40. MB. II, 47, 23.

41. Stein, *On Alexander's track to Indus*, p. 89.

42. Div. p. 316.

probably also indicated some kind of woollen shawl.<sup>43</sup> *Kalpadūśya* from Uttarakuru which might have been situated in Central Asia was blue, yellow, red or white.<sup>44</sup> Mixed fabrics of wool and *dukūla* were made.<sup>45</sup> At times the shawl was very thin (*kamabala-sūksh-māṇi*). The *Mahāvastu*<sup>46</sup> says that the wool weavers had their own guild.<sup>47</sup> There was also a great demand for ordinary blankets and camel rugs.<sup>48</sup>

The present of red shawls from the king of Iran to Emperor Aurelian is mentioned. Warmington takes it to be a *pashmīnā* shawl of Indian manufacture,<sup>49</sup> though it might have been *saqlaṭ* or scarlet cloth of the Persians whose earliest mention is found in Baihāqī (1040 A.D.).<sup>50</sup> The material known as *Marococorum lana* in the Digest of the Roman Law (XXXIX, 5, 7) was perhaps the raw wool of the shawl goat exported from North-Western Indian ports to be worked in Egypt. Warmington derives *Marococorum* from the name of the Karakorum mountain.<sup>51</sup> If this identification is correct then the hair of the shawl goat formed an article of export from India to the Roman Empire. Dyed wool was not exported, as the red dyed wool is said to have astonished Aurelian and his successors as a novelty.<sup>52</sup> It is also mentioned that when Hormuzd II (302-310 A.D.) married the daughter of the king of Kabul the bride's trousseau containing the wonderful products of the looms of Kashmīr excited admiration.<sup>53</sup> But whether actual Kashmīr is mentioned in the account I am unable to verify.

In the literature of the Gupta period as well certain information about the woollen fabrics and shawls is available. The *rāṅkava* of the *Amarakośa*,<sup>54</sup> as I have already pointed out, is equivalent to *pashmīnā*. In the list of textiles in the Jain *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*,<sup>55</sup> and the *Niśīthāchūrṇi*<sup>56</sup> some important information about shawls and blankets is available. Thus *jaṅgiya* was a camel rug, *āyāṇi* was definitely *pashmīnā* as according to the commentary in a certain country goats had very fine hair (*pakshma-pashma*) from which the *ājakaś* were made. The *Niśītha* had, however, no idea about the origin of *ājaka* as according to it this stuff was manufac-

43. *Ib.* p. 215.

44. *Ib.* p. 221.

45. *Ib.* p. 316.

46. *Mahāvastu*, II, 116.

47. *Ib.* III, 113.

48. Gilgit Texts, III, 2, pp. 95-96.

49. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 212.

50. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 496-98, Chicago, 1919.

51. *Ib.* p. 160.

52. *Ib.* p. 161.

53. *Ib.* p. 161.

54. *AK.* II, 6, 111.

55. *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 5, 1, 1.

56. *Niśīthāchūrṇi*, Litho edition, Vol. VII, p. 467.



tured from the weed growing in the Rishi tank in Toṣali, which stuck to the hooves of the goat grazing there. *Amilā*, according to the commentator of the *Āchārāṅga*, was made from goat-skin but according to the *Niśitha* it was made from goat's hair. It might have been some kind of shawl. Other varieties of *pashmīnā* shawls are *pesalāṇi* described as made from very fine *pakshma* or *pashm*. *Rallaka* is said to have been a sort of woollen shawl in the *Amarakośa*<sup>57</sup> which was probably the same as *ho-la-li* of Yuan Chwang.<sup>58</sup> It is said that it was made from the hair of some wild animal and was a fairly costly stuff. It was probably some sort of *pashmīnā*.

From the above account of woollen fabrics and shawls in ancient India one thing is clear that no where shawl weaving is connected with Kashmīr, though the industry seems to have flourished in Swāt, North-Western Frontier Province, Panjāb, etc. There is very little material to construct the history of shawl-weaving in Kashmīr and the general belief in Kashmīr as mentioned by Charles Hugel<sup>59</sup> in the 19th century seems to have been that it was founded by Zain-ul-Ābidīn (1420-70 A.D.) who is said to have introduced Turkestan weavers in Kashmīr for the purpose. I shall refer to the veracity of this tradition later on.

An examination of the literary sources, however, reveals that the shawl industry of Kashmīr was of greater antiquity than the 15th century. Kshemendra (c. 990-1065 A.D.), a versatile writer of medieval Kashmīr, seems to have been fairly well acquainted with the shawl-weaving industry of his country. In his *Deśopadeśa*, V, 21,<sup>60</sup> he refers to *tūsta-prāvaraṇa*. In the *Narmamālā*,<sup>61</sup> *paryanta-tūstaka*, which seems to have been some inferior variety of shawl with borders, is mentioned. There is little doubt that the *tūṣ* shawl of the 'Aīn Akbarī 32, made from the wool of the animal of the same name is meant here. The *lohita-kambala* which reminds us of the red shawls of *Gandhāra* and *Uḍḍiyāna* mentioned in the *Jātakas* is mentioned.<sup>62</sup> In the *Samayamātrikā*,<sup>63</sup> Kaṅkāli serving as a nurse to a rich man's son is shown wearing a closely woven shawl (*kambala*) which fell to her ankles. Shawl-weaving seems to have been a cottage industry in the 11th century Kashmīr. At one place in the *Narmamālā*,<sup>64</sup> Kshemendra observes that the teacher employed in a Kāyastha's house for teaching the children of the

57. AK. II, 6, 116.

58. Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 148.

59. Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmīr*, pp. 118-119.

60. *Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā*, ed. by M. Kaul, Poona, 1923.

61. *Narmamālā*, I, 72.

62. *Narmamālā*, I, 111.

63. *Samayamātrikā*, II, 70.

64. *Narmamālā*, II, 45.



house instead of carrying out his duty whiled away his time in spinning (*kartana*), drawing out the patterns (*likhanam*) and weaving the patterns on the strips with *tujis* or eyeless wooden needles (*sūchīpaṭṭikāvānam*)—the process analogous to the modern shawl-weaving in Kashmir. All these references to shawl manufacture in Kashmir prove its existence in Kashmir long before the 15th century.

That in the 13th century shawls and other woollen goods from Kashmir reached Western India is referred by Udayaprabha Sūri in his *Dharmābhyudāya* (written c. 1233). He says that along with other articles Kashmir shawls (*Kāśmīra-vasana*) were used for worshipping in the *Samghas* and *Chaityas*.<sup>65</sup>

The existence of shawl weaving industry in Kashmir in the 13th and 14th centuries is further supported by a reference in the *Sarār-us-sudūr* a work of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's time containing the sayings of Shaykh Farīd-ud-Dīn. It mentions that in Alāuddīn's time (1296-1316) Kashmir shawls were available in Delhi and that Shaykh Nizāmuddīn Auliya had one such shawl.<sup>66</sup>

I have already referred to the tradition prevalent in Kashmir that Zain-ul-Ābidīn in the 15th century had established the shawl industry there. This tradition was, however, so far not supported or denied by historical evidence. Fortunately, Śrīvara's *Jaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī* throws some light on this point. After the death of Jonarāja in 1459, the history of Kashmir between 1459 and 1486 was written by Śrīvara. This history continues the account of the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn from 1459 to 1470. Though the *Jaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī* may not be a strictly historical work, nevertheless it contains episodic descriptions which throw considerable light on the life and culture of the mid-fifteenth century Kashmir.

The interest of Zain-ul-Ābidīn in textiles is shown in chapter sixth of the *Jaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which says that hearing of the great reputation of Zain-ul-Ābidīn many Indian rulers sent him presents. For instance Rāṇā Kumbhā (1433-1468 A.D.) of Chitor sent him as present a printed cloth known as *nārīkuñjara*,<sup>67</sup> apparently decorated with the composite figures of women in the shape of an elephant, a favourite art motif of the 15th century. Sultān Mahmūd Beghrā (1458-1511 A.D.) sent to him cloths such as *katēpha*, *saqlāta*, and *sopha*<sup>68</sup> which could be identified with *qatīf*, a silken stuff, *saqlāt*, scarlet broad cloth and *sūf* or woollen cloth of the 'Āīn-i-Akbarī (32). Such was his reputation as a lover of

65. *Dharmābhyudaya*, I, 71, Bombay, 1949.

66. *Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 13th Session*, Nagpur, p. 168.

67. *Jaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VI, 137, Bombay 1892.

68. *Ib.*, VI, 25.



art that in the words of the poet "a large number of artisans adept in original designs regarding him as the Wishing Tree came from long distances like swarming black bees."<sup>69</sup> "The Kashmīris mastering the intricacies of the shuttles (*turī*) and looms (*vema*) now weave beautiful and costly silks." "The special woollen textiles (*aurṇa*, *sopha*) of foreign origin, worthy of kings, are now woven by the Kashmīris."<sup>70</sup> "The painters seeing the patterns (*chitra*) and creeper designs (*latākritih*) obtained by intricate weaving process (*vichitravayana*) are reduced to silence as the figures in a painting."<sup>71</sup> "The country and the costume of the king became famous on account of the silks made of endless yarns, and carefully dyed (*varṇavichchhitti*)."<sup>72</sup>

From the above account it is clear that in Zain-ul-Ābidīn's time the art of textile weaving in Kashmīr, specially the manufacture of silk, had received great impetus and that a large number of artisans in order to show their art came to Kashmīr to seek the patronage of the ruler. It is also significant to note that certain woollen goods which came formerly from distant lands were, in the time of Zain-ul-Ābidīn, being manufactured in Kashmīr. Herein possibly lies the origin of the tradition that Zain-ul-Ābidīn had invited Turkish weavers and thus laid the foundation of shawl manufacturing industry in Kashmīr. The tradition is further supported by Śrīvara's assertion that artisans came from distant lands to seek the patronage of the king. Turkestan is not specially mentioned, but the possibility that it was one of the countries from which artisans came to Kashmīr could not be ruled out.

Considerable light on the shawl manufacture of Kashmīr in the 16th century is thrown by the 'Āin-i-Akbarī of Abul Faḍl who has given exhaustive lists of all kinds of textiles. In 'Āin 31 Abul Faḍl points out the great interest which Akbar took in various stuffs and that was the reason why Iranian, European and Mongolian articles of wear were available in plenty in the country. Besides this, his interest in textiles had attracted a large number of foreign craftsmen and workers who taught the people improved style in textile manufacture. The imperial workshops at Lahore, Āgrā, Fatahpur, and Ahmadābād were noted for their excellent products whose patterns, knots and varieties of fashion astonished the travellers. Akbar himself had acquired a practical knowledge of the whole trade, and the encouragement he gave to the indigenous workers brought all round improvement. All kinds of hair-weaving

69. *Ib.*, VI, 27.

70. *Ib.*, VI, 29.

71. *Ib.*, VI, 30.

72. *Ib.*, VI, 31.



and silk-spinning improved so that the Imperial workshops could manufacture all the stuff produced in other countries. There was a constant demand for fine materials and at first time gave occasion for grand display of draperies.

All textile pieces bought, woven to order or received as tributes or presents were carefully preserved and were inspected from time to time. Clothes were made from them or they were given away as presents. Articles were arranged according to their prices. Experienced people continually inquired about the prices of articles used formerly and in Akbar's time, as the knowledge of the exact prices was conducive to the increase of stock.<sup>73</sup>

In keeping with his interest in textiles Akbar showed great interest in the shawl manufacture of Kashmīr. We are informed in the 'Āin 31<sup>74</sup> that to the generic term *shāl* Akbar gave his own Hindi designation *paramnaram* 'very soft', and he changed the name of *kapūrdhūr* 'camphor dust', a Tibetan stuff to *kapūrnūr*, 'camphor light'. The 'Āin 32<sup>75</sup> gives a fairly good account of Kashmīr shawls. At times the trade names given by the 'Āin are obscure, but some light could be thrown on them with the help of a mid-seventeenth century Ms. of the 'Āin-i-Akbarī in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It bears marginal notes which either give the correct spellings of the words or offer short explanations. I give below the translation of the text on shawls which differs at places from Jarrett's translation in the light of the new manuscript. "His Majesty improved the department (shawl department) in four ways. The improvement is visible first in *tūṣ* shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name, whose, natural colours are black, white and red but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is pure white. This kind of shawl is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; his Majesty has had it dyed. It is curious that it will not take a red dye. Secondly, in the *safid ālchas* (any kind of coloured stuff) or *tarahadārs* in their natural colours, the wool is either white, black or mixed. The first white kind was formerly dyed in three or four ways; his Majesty has given order to dye it in various ways. Thirdly in stuffs as *zardozi*, *kalābatūn*, *kashīdah*, *qalghai*, *bāndhnūn*, *chhīnṭ*, *ālchah* and *purzdār* to which his Majesty pays much attention. Fourthly, he improved the smaller size of the shawls and enlarged them as to make complete suit out of them."

73. 'Āin-i-Akbarī, I, p. 89.

74. *Ib.*, I, 90.

75. *Ib.*, I, 90-91.



"The garments stored in the Imperial ward-robe are arranged according to days, months and years of their entries, and according to their colour, prices, and weight. Such an arrangement now-a-days is called *misl*. And their variety is noted on cloth-labels sewn to one of the corners of the shawls. In the *Īrānī* months of *Āzar* and *Farwardīn* they are brought to the *kārkhānas* and sorted out in accordance with their prices, varieties, colours and weights."

"The following is the order of colours—Grey (*tūṣ*), white (*saḡed*), striped (*ālchah*), scarlet (*lāl*), golden (*zarrīn*), brass coloured (*birinjī*), carmine (*qirmizī*), deep blackish green (*kāhī*), almond-colour (*bādāmī*), light yellow (*gūlpumbah*), sandalwood colour (*sandalī*), deep red (*arghwānī*), mauve (*unnābī*), parrot green (*tūtki*), honey colour (*asī*), purple (*sosnī*), majenta (*majīthī*), colour of *kasnī* flower, apple-green (*sebkī*), grass green (*alfī*), pistachio green (*pistakī*), purgul, orange (*nārangī*), leaf green (*paran*), *lahuj* or *thūj?*, pink (*gulābī*), blue (*āsmānī*), birch bark (*bhoja patra*), sea green (*ābī*), olive green (*zaitunī*), blood red (*jigārī*), emerald green (*zāmurrādī*), chinese blue (*chīnī*), a kind of purple (*banafshāī*), flesh coloured (*chikhrāī*), mango green (*ambohaī*), musk (*mushqīn*), grey (*fākhtaī*), and *qalghāī*."

"In former times shawls came from Kashmīr from time to time. People folded them in four-folds, and wore them for a very long time. Now-a-days they are generally worn without folds and merely thrown over the shoulders. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well."

"His Majesty encourages in every possible way the manufacture of shawls in Kashmīr. In Lahore alone there are more than a thousand workshops. A kind of shawl named *māyān* is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wool mixed. These are of standard size. Both are used for *chīrahs* (turbans) and *fautahs* (loin-bands)."

From the above account of shawl many points are clear. Firstly, *tūṣ* shawl was made from the hair of *tūṣ* goat. In the 19th century when Moorcroft visited Kashmīr there were two kinds of goat-wool *pashm shāl* obtained from the wool of domestic goats and *asī tūṣ* obtained from the hair of wild goats and sheep. It was chiefly black, white or reddish. Secondly, the corded and patterned shawls (*tarah shawls*) were made of either white, black or mixed wool. The white kind was formerly dyed in three or fours colours but in Akbar's time the number of colours was increased. Thirdly, attention was paid to the manufacture of the following varieties of shawls: (1) *Zardozi*—Apparently this shawl was embroidered with gold



wire and sequins. The Museum has several good examples of this kind of shawl. (2) *Kalābatūn*—The design seem to have been brocaded with gold wire. (3) *Qashidah*—In this variety the pattern was embroidered and not woven. (4) *Qalghāi*—This type was made either of silk or gold wire or bore pine cone patterns (*qalghī*). (5) *Bāndhnūn* shawls had tie-dyed pattern. (6) *Chhīnṭ* shawls were apparently painted or decorated with floral patterns in the manner of calico-prints. According to Moorecroft<sup>76</sup> even in the early 19th century some shawls with green flowers tied in small hard knots to protect them from the action of the dye were made. When untied each flower was surrounded by a small white field to which small eyes of spots of yellow, red, were added by the embroiderers. (7) *Alchah* was a white banded stuff. (8) *Purzdār* is described by Jarrett as all sorts of stuff of which the outside is plush-like. But according to the Prince of Wales Museum manuscript, it was known in Turkish as *kark* and in Hindi *rūsā*. The note further explains that it was a big piece made of various strips joined together or it had marbled (*abrī*) design or its nomenclature was due to its good quality. There is little doubt that by *purzdār* that kind of shawl is meant in which the size is obtained by joining together several strips—the *khaṇḍasamghātya* of ancient times. Fourthly, it seems that the shawls before Akbar period were narrow. By Akbar's order, however, shawls of a suit's length were being made. Fifthly, Lahore, with more than a thousand workshops became a centre of shawl weaving and produced a stuff called *māyān* used for turban and waist-bands.

There are several notices of shawl industry of Kashmīr in the 17th century. Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs*<sup>77</sup> makes the following remarks about the shawl industry of Kashmīr: "The shawls of Kashmīr to which my father gave the name of *parm-narm* are very famous: there is no need to praise them. Another kind is *taharma* (*naharma* in printed versions); it is thicker than a shawl and soft. Another is *darm*. It is like a *jul-i-khirsak* and is put on carpet. With the exception of shawl they make other woollen material better in Tibet. Though they bring the wool for the shawls from Tibet, they do not make them there. The wool for the shawls comes from a goat which is peculiar to Tibet. In Kashmīr they weave the *paṭṭu* shawl from wool, and sewing two shawls together they smooth them into a kind of *saqarlāt* (broad-cloth) which is not bad for a rain coat."

From the above account of shawls it is clear that the shawl industry of Kashmīr in Jahāngīr's time was in a flourishing state.

76. *Travels*, II, 191-192.

77. *Tuzūk*, II, 147-178.



The Hindi name *param-naram* coined by Akbar for shawls continued and it seems to have formed a regular article for presentation to the nobles.<sup>78</sup> The *naharma* is translated by the editor in a footnote as "like a river", for the shawl had waves (*maujdār*). Apparently this kind was decorated with a wavy pattern. The *darm* is explained as a little bear coverlet or drugget and was possibly something like modern *paṭṭu* stuff generally used as a rough wear.

Besides the stuffs mentioned above we get tit-bits of information about shawls in the *Memoirs*. Thus we are told that Jahāngīr once presented to Mirzā Rājā Bhāo Singh a special Kashmir *phup* shawl.<sup>79</sup> *Phup* here is certainly meant for Hindi *puhupa* derived from the Sanskrit *pushpa* "flower". Apparently it was a flowered shawl. At another place<sup>80</sup> it is said that *tūṣ* shawl was a special prerogative of the king. It could only be worn when ordered by the king.<sup>81</sup>

Bernier, on his visit to Kashmir in 1665, has left the following account of shawls manufactured there:

Large quantities of shawls were manufactured which gave employment even to children. These shawls measured 1½ ell (ell=45") long and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width. The Mughal and Indian men and women wore them in winter round their heads, passing them over the shoulders as a mantle. One sort was manufactured with the wool of the country and the other with the wool of the shawl goat of Tibet. The price of the *tūṣ* shawl ranged from 50 to 150 Rupees. Great pains were taken to manufacture similar shawls at Patna, Āgrā, and Lahore but they lacked the delicate texture of Kashmir shawls.<sup>82</sup>

It is clear from the above account that in the time of Aurangzeb there was great demand for Kashmir shawls. It seems that the use of *tūṣ* shawls was not a royal monopoly as in the Jahāngīr period. This might have been due to the increase in production, which is not conducive to monopoly of any kind. Further, besides Lahore shawls were being manufactured at Āgrā and Patna as well.

The *Kalpadrakośa* of Keśava, a seventeenth century Sanskrit lexicon, gives some interesting names for shawls. According to it<sup>83</sup> *ratnakambala*, *Kāśmīrī*, *mahorṇā*, *prāvārī*, *pāmārī*, *yakshikā* and

78. *Tuzūk*, I, 390; II, 26, 24.

79. *Ib.*, I, 297.

80. *Tuzūk*, I, 384.

81. *Ib.*, I, 384.

82. Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 402-403, London, 1891.

83. *Kalpadrakośa*, 280-282, ed. by R. Sharma, Baroda, 1923.



*Bhoṭa* were different names for shawls. As the names *Kaśmīri* and *Bhoṭa* indicate their sources were Kashmīr and Tibet respectively. *Ratnakambala* must have been a costly shawl; *prāvārī*, a *chādar* and *pāmārī* a foot spread.

The *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh* (1695-A.D.)<sup>84</sup> speaks of woollen stuffs specially the shawls of Kashmīr exported all over the world. Soft and beautiful broad cloths of wool were also manufactured. *Paṭṭū* sheets in two pieces, as in the period of Jahāngir, were available.

From the above statement it is clear that by the end of the 17th century the shawls of Kashmīr were being exported to other countries. The shawls imported by the East India Company in 1685 and 1704<sup>85</sup>, according to Mr. Irwin<sup>86</sup>, were almost certainly intended for use as table cloths or counterpanes. How the demand for Kashmīr shawls in Europe grew and how it dictated the contemporary fashion has been ably dealt by Mr. Irwin and need not be recapitulated here.

Forster in his travel to Kashmīr in 1783 has made certain interesting observations on the shawl industry of Kashmīr. As a matter of fact he travelled in the guise of a Turkish shawl merchant proceeding to purchase shawls in Kashmīr.<sup>87</sup> At Bilāspur he met a Tumboo (*Tambū*) shawl caravan on its way to Delhi and Lucknow. It was through the help of their agents that he could clear himself from the Bilāspur customs.<sup>88</sup> According to Forster shawls exported from Kashmīr were packed in oblong bales, whose outward coverings were made of the buffalo's or ox's hide, strongly sewn with leather thongs. They were opened only in the destined markets.<sup>89</sup> The shawl wool was brought from Tibet. Originally of dark grey colour, it was bleached with rice flour. The yarn was dyed as desired; the shawls were also washed after fabrication. Richly patterned borders were attached to the shawls so neatly as to allow no joints. The price of an ordinary shawl varied from 8 to 40 Rupees, but the value of a flowered shawl was considerably greater. A portion of the revenue of Kashmīr was returned to Afghan capital in shawl goods. The shawls were in three sizes, the long and the square ones were in common use in India; the other long and very narrow ones with black preponderating in their colour scheme were worn as girdles by the Northern Asiatics.<sup>90</sup>

84. J. Sarkar, *The India of Aurangzeb*, p. 111, Calcutta, 1901.

85. Birdwood, *Report on Old Records*, p. 27.

86. *Loc. cit.*, p. 47, fn. 8.

87. G. Forster, *A journey from Bengal to England*, I, p. 191, London, 1798.

88. *Ib.* I, p. 211.

89. *Ib.* I, pp. 247-48.

90. *Ib.* II, pp. 18-19.



The best account of shawl manufacture in early nineteenth century has been given by Moorcroft.<sup>91</sup> During the course of his journey he found out that Amritsar had become an important centre of shawl manufacture owing to the migration of a large number of Kashmir craftsmen from their country to escape the Afghan tyranny. Before Moorcroft's time, shawl yarn to Amritsar came from Kashmir, but its export was banned to discourage the foreign manufacture of shawls. However, when he visited Amritsar the wool came from Tibet and Bokhāra. The Amritsar shawls with double warp and weft were fairly thick and soft. The meagre wages of nearly two annas daily left the weavers miserably poor.<sup>92</sup>

Moorcroft has left an interesting account of shawl manufacture in Kashmir<sup>93</sup> which has been supplemented by Mr. Irwin from the original Moorcroft papers in the India Office. According to Moorcroft the *pashm* wool employed for shawl manufacture was obtained from domestic and wild goats and was brought from Tibet, Ladakh, Yarkand and Khotan by the Mongols who exchanged it for shawls.<sup>94</sup> In its first disposal the importer (*baqāl*), the retailer (*pashm-farosh*), and the broker (*muqīm*) were concerned. The payment was made in each or two months' credit.<sup>95</sup>

Women purchased the wool from the retailer for spinning. It was first packed and cleaned with the solution of rice flour and then after being torn to pieces was arranged into square elastic pads (*tumba*) and then second-wool extracted for strong shawl cloth (*paṭṭū*). Then the pads were rolled and carefully stored. The fine wool was spun in the lengths of seven hundred yards which were again cut into two hundred lengths to suit the length of the warp. The retailers purchased the yarn from the spinners and sold it to weavers, who having ascertained the patterns in demand, handed over the skeins to the dyer. For shawls with a plain field second yarn was used to weave patterns to get an enhanced effect. The dyer professed to give sixty-four shades such as crimson (*gulenār*) obtained from cochineal, kermes, logwood for other reds and blue and green from indigo. Carthamus and saffron yielded various tints of orange, yellow, etc.

The *nakatu* adjusted the yarn for the warp and the weft; the warp yarns measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards consisting of two to three thousand threads were double while the weft yarns was single. Then the

91. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*.....by Moorcroft and Trebnech from 1819-25, London, 1841.

92. *Ib.* I, pp. 110-113.

93. *Ib.* II, Chapter III.

94. *Ib.* II, pp. 164-166.

95. *Ib.* p. 167.



warp was dressed with thickly boiled rice water. Silk was used for border warp for strength and used as a colour contrast. Narrow borders were woven with the shawl, but the broader ones were woven on a different loom and then sewn to the shawl by the *darnar* in such a manner that the joints could scarcely be detected. The warp was then drawn through the needles and then taken to the loom. After the warp had been fixed up on the looms and the pattern drawn, *naqqāsh* and *tarahdār guru* and *tālīm guru* determined the proportion of the yarn of different colours. The *naqqāsh* prepared the drawing of the pattern, the *tarahdār guru*, after considering the disposition of the colours, called out the colours beginning from the foot of the pattern, the number of threads to which it extended and the colour by which it was followed till the whole pattern had been described. From his directions the *tālīm guru* took down the particulars in a short-hand and delivered a copy to the weaver.

The workmen prepared *tujis* or needs containing about four grains of dyed yarn. These eyeless needles had sharp ends. Following the instructions of the *tarahguru* the weaver knotted the yarn of the *tuji* to the warp. The right side of the cloth was placed next to the ground, the work being carried on the reverse on which the needles hung in a row numbering 400 to 1500. As soon as the work on one line was completed the count was brought down with force.

The shawl-cloth was generally of two kinds—one plain with two threads, and the second twilled or with four threads. The twilled cloth, which was frequently of irregular texture, was usually twenty-four *girah* broad. To ensure a good field the borders were woven separately and joined to the field by the *rafūgar*.

When finished the shawl was handed over to *purusgar* who removed discoloured hair with tweezers or by shaving. Then the shawls were sent to the collector for stamp duties which amounted to 26%. After that they were handed over to sellers and brokers. They were then washed and calendered, packed separately in coloured papers, pressed and then the bale was sewn up in strong cloth over which a cover of *tūṣ* or birch bark was laid. Finally, the whole was sewn smoothly and tightly in a raw hide.

Besides the shawls manufactured and described above *doshālī amli* shawls were embroidered with needles using woollen thread instead of silk. The pattern was pounced on the shawl by means of a tracing paper using charcoal powder with some coloured powder mixed with gum arabic. Sometimes wooden blocks were also used.



In the plain shawls Moorcroft mentions *paṭṭū*, *pashmīnā* made of *asal tūs* or coarse shawl wool (4 *gaz* x 1½ *gaz*); *shāl phirī* made of seconds-wool (3½ g. x 1½ g.); *alwān* plain white cloth of fine shawl wool; turban-cloth and *johar shāl-sādū* with a narrow edging of coloured yarn (3½ to 3¾ g. x 1½ g.).

The following shawls measured (3½ g. x. 1½ g.):—*Shāl-hāshiyādār*, *shāl do-hāshiyādār* and *shāl chahār hāshiyādār* had one, two and four borders respectively; *hāshiyādār khosar* of *Khalikhānī* had two borders and two *taṅga* with or without flowers in the corners. *Hāshiyādār kiungrīdār* had the border of the usual form with another inside, or nearer the middle resembling the crest of the wall of an Asiatic fort furnished with narrow niches or embrasures for wall pieces; *dhūrdār* in which an ornament ran round the field between the border and the field; *maṭandār* had flower or decoration in the middle of the field; *chānddār* had a circular ornament in the field; *chāutahīdār* had four half-moons; *kunj būṭedār* had a group of flowers at each corner; *alfidār* had green sprigs without any colour on white field; *kaddār* had large group of flowers in the form of the cone of a pine with the ends of point straight or curved downwards; *do-kaddār* had two such heights; *sehkaddār* had three rows and so on to five and upwards, in the latter case the cones were somewhat small.

Moorcroft has also given the definitions of some technical terms about patterns. Thus *hāshia* is the border; the *zanzirī* or chain runs above and below the *paṭṭa* and confines it; the *dhūr* or running ornament situated inside the *hāshiya* and *zanzir* enveloped the whole field, *kunjbutā* is a corner ornament; *maṭan* is the decorated part of the field and *būṭā* is a cone in one or several rows; after five rows it is *ṭūkaḍdār*. The constituent part of a *būṭā* is *pāi* or foot or pediment of leaves, the *shikam* or belly and *sir* the head which is straight, curved or inclined. The sloping *būṭā* is *būṭā-kaj*; the *thal* or net separates the different *būṭās*, sometimes the interspace being plain. *Jāmewār* meaning literally a gown piece in many varieties such as *khirkhabūṭā*—large compound flowers consisting of groups of smaller ones, etc. It was used by the Persians and Afghans. The *rezābūṭā* (small flowers thickly set), *thāldār* (network), *mehramat*, *khaterast*, *mārpech*, *kalamkār*, *zakheangūr*, *chaporast*, *dogul* (two flowers), *sehgul* (three flowers), *chahārgul* (four flowers), *barghe-bed*, *gule-sant*, *duzdeh khat*, *duzdeh rang*, *gule parwāne*, *kaddār*, *kayhamu*, *sabzkār* and *safed* were exported to India proper where they were dyed, the small flowers being tied previously in hard knots.



The square *rumals* for women were known as *khatdār*, *mehramat* and *islimī* with other patterns of *jāmewār*, *chahārbāgh*, *hāshiya*, *chānd*, *chautahī*, *shāhmantabī*, *firangī* (exported to Russia), *tarah Armenī* (exported to Armenia and Persia), *tarah Rūmī* (exported to Turkey), and *sādā* for domestic use.

Besides the articles mentioned above *shamlas* for the waist (8 x 1½ g., exported to Tibet), *goshpech* or *paṭkā* (turban, 10 x 1 g.), *mandila* with or without *zanzir* (8 to 10 g. x 12 girah,) *kālīn* (*pashmīna* shawl carpet made of any size), *naqsh* (trousers with or without seams, the former in two pieces sewn by *darnar* and the latter by *jurrāb sūz* or stocking maker), *chārkhānā* or netted cloth (1.1 ½ g.), *gulbadan* (breadth 14 gir. to 1 gir.), *luṅgī* (3½ x 1½ g.) *tākhīn* (caps), *jurrāb* (short stockings) flowered or striped (*mehramat*), *moze pashmīna* (long stockings), *sakkahposh* (canopies), *darparda* (curtain), *kajjarī asp* (saddle cloth), *kajjarī fil* (elephant's housing), *bālaposh* (quilt or coverlet) *galāband* (cravat), *pistānī-band* (necker-chief), *langoṭ* (waist-belt), *postīn* (to line a pelisse), *pāipech* legging, *izār-band*, *takiā* (pillow case), *khalitā* bags or purse, *kabarposh* (shrouds), *tākposh* (hanging for cupboards and recesses) and *khwān-posh* (dish cover or napkins).

It is peculiar that in the above list the *shikārgāh* or hunting pattern of Kashmir shawl has not been mentioned by Moorcroft, though shawls with such patterns are available. It is possible that this pattern had already fallen in disuse in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is, however, clear that when Vigne visited Kashmir figured shawls were being manufactured. According to him Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh had ordered a pair of shawls to be made at a cost of Rs. 5,000/- which represented his victories.<sup>96</sup>

The Prince of Wales Museum has three good specimens of *Shikārgāh* shawls. In one the border bears the figure of hunters, tigers, elephants and other beasts and birds (Fig. 4). The shawl seems to be very old and may be dated to the middle of the 18th century. The other two shawls are embroidered in chain stitch consisting of the figures of birds and beasts, horse riders, music parties, etc. (Fig. 5). The appearance of soldiers in what appears to be a sort of semi-European livery is interesting. The origin of these shawls is a little doubtful. At first glance Kashmir appears to be the place of their origin, but it is notable that such kind of shawls are not usually found in the collections of Kashmir shawls. Moreover, the costumes of men and women recall the costumes of the men and women of Kulu and Kāngrā region as described by Forster

96. G. G. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak and Iskardo*, Vol. II, p. 124, London, 1842.



and Moorcroft. Forster<sup>97</sup> observes: "Their (Kāngrā women's) dress consists of a petticoat with border, usually of different colours; a close jacket, covering half the waist, and a loose stomacher to the forepart of it, which reaches the girdle. Their hair, which they hold in as high an estimation as that beautiful appendage, can be recorded by the gayest females of Europe, is plaited with black silk, or cotton strings, and falls down the back; over which they throw in graceful fashion, a veil, which seldom touches, and never conceals the face." According to Moorcroft the people wore a blanket with its one end being brought on shoulders and fastened across the breast with skewers and the other passed round the thighs and secured to the waist. In winter a double coat, trousers and bootkins were added. Respectable persons wore a sort of a jacket and trousers, the latter very full above and tight at the ankles. Both men and women wore caps. The men's caps were flat and red with an upturned border of black. The women's caps were undyed but with a fringe at the top which hung as a tassal on one side, the plait wound round it. They wore heavy earrings and massive anklets.<sup>98</sup>

It is this type of costume which is represented on the shawls which may possibly have originated from Kulu. The appearance of soldiers wearing a sort of European livery also lends support to this view. It is notable that Moorcroft on his way to Kashmir met at Sujānpur Mr. O'Brien, an Irishman in the service of Rājā Samsār Chand, who was a dragoon in the 8th or Royal Irish. It was said of him that on being reprimanded and struck by his officer he knocked him down and deserted. After wandering for sometime he joined Samsār Chand for whom he established a manufactory of small arms and disciplined an infantry of 1,400 men. There was another European soldier named James in Rājā's employ with some skill in gunnery.<sup>99</sup> It is possible that O'Brien's soldiers are represented here. If it is so then the shawls could be dated to c. 1800 A.D.

The dispersal of Kashmir shawl weavers and embroiderers in the late 18th century to Amritsar and possibly to the Hill States of Kāngrā was due to the tyranny of the Afghans and the rigorous exactions of the Sikh rulers. Vigne notes that after 1830 he found that at Śrinagar only six hundred shawl frames had remained, and most of the weavers had migrated or had taken to some other profession.

97. *Loc. cit.*, I, 309.

98. Moorcroft, *loc. cit.*, pp. 180-182.

99. Moorcroft, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 125-126.



The story of the Kashmīr shawl industry in the 19th century has been very ably traced by Mr. Irwin. The growing demand for Kashmīr shawls in Paris in the closing years of the 18th century had its inevitable repercussions on the types of design produced. There was a demand for elaborate patterns. Merchants or their agents settled in Kashmīr and asked the weavers to reproduce the given patterns. One Armenian merchant Khojā Yūsuf was sent by his Constantinople firm to Kashmīr in 1803 in order to have shawls made according to the patterns of his choice, and he is said to have introduced among other things the innovation of needle-embroidered or *amlī* shawls.<sup>100</sup> It is, however, certain that such shawls were no innovation to Kashmīr as *kashidah* or embroidered shawls are mentioned by the 'Aīn-i-Akbarī. It may be that Khojā Yūsuf gave an impetus to *amlī* shawls which perhaps had better market outside.

As mentioned by Moorcroft in one of his letters dated 1882 and quoted by Mr. Irwin at Śrīnagar he met merchants from the cities of Chinese Turkestan, Uzbek, Tartary, Kabul, Persia and Turkey and from the provinces of British India getting the shawls manufactured after the patterns and quality for which there was demand in their respective countries. But as Moorcroft has observed elsewhere, political events in the 19th century had reduced Kashmīr's trade with Persia, Turkey and Panjāb while demand from British India had decreased. One encouraging feature, however, was the increase in demand from Russia and Turkestan which probably helped the industry to tide over its difficulties for some time.

The increased demand for Kashmīr shawls in Europe led to the imitation in England, and in the closing years of the 18th century, from 1814 onwards Paisley became the main centre of shawl manufacture in England. By 1818 Paisley shawls were being exported to India though they could never compete with the quality of Kashmīr shawls. The French design also exerted great influence on Kashmīr design. France produced new varieties of cone palmette design, the pattern being known in the English trade as 'fill over' design because the patterns covered the whole field of the shawls instead of the borders only. They became so popular by 1830 that Paisley weavers ceased to copy the originals and followed the French patterns. The effect of the new French patterns which had great demand in Europe and America also led to the copying of French patterns by the weavers of Kashmīr.

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100. Marga, VI, I, p. 48.



The shawl industry in Kashmīr survived till 1870, when the change in fashion in the West killed the export market with consequent suffering to the weaver. The internal demand persisted for some time but it was too inadequate to support the industry.

As remarked by Irwin discussion about Kashmīr patterns suffer too much from the alleged symbolism and antiquity of the Kashmīr cone. He is of the opinion that the *būṭā* or cone whose direct ancestry is traceable in the Persian Safāwī patterns of the 16th century was introduced in Kashmīr in the same century. He derives the Kashmīr cone from two Safāwī motives namely—(1) the combination of a cypress with a flowering almond tree, with a gradual tendency in the 17th century for the cypress and almond trees to merge into a common outline, and (2) flowering shrubs and vase-and-flower motive so common in Persia of the 17th and 18th centuries as a fusion of these two Safāwī motives.<sup>101</sup>

Unfortunately, the absence of material, literary and otherwise makes the problem of the history of shawl patterns of Kashmīr a difficult one. As we have already pointed out, according to Śrīvara floral meander was a common motif of the silk weavers of Kashmīr. In Akbar's period the *qalghāi* type might have had the cone or flower pattern as *qalghā* means both flower or an aigrette, the *jīgeh* of Jahāngīr's time which had the same shape as *būṭā* in Kashmīr shawls. In Jahāngīr's time only two patterns *nahrma* or wavy lines and *puhup* or flower are mentioned. Stripes also seem to have been a common motive. How far *qalghā* was used as a textile pattern in the 17th century we are unable to say as I have not come across any piece of the 17th century with this motif, but it begins to appear in many forms in the 18th century textiles, and also in the border decorations of the paintings, though here *qalghā* is merely a complex arrangement of flowers and leaves.

The Prince of Wales Museum has a varied and interesting collection of shawls dating from the 18th century to the present day. The collection may be classified under the following heads:— (1) Shawls with white fields decorated with simple green sprigs, the *alfidār* of Moorcroft which probably had a narrow border decorated with flowers and palmates (Fig. 1). In one shawl (Fig. 2) the field is decorated with palms and roses while the border has cones. (2) Shawl with cypress and roundel motif (Fig. 3). It is a black sash piece with narrow border; the broad ends decorated with cypress and chain motives. Probably this piece was manufactured for Persia or Turkey, as these motifs seldom occur in Indian

101. Marga, *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-46.



shawls. (3) *Shikārgāh* shawls (Figs. 4 a-d, 5). They are either woven or embroidered and are decorated with hunting and picnic scenes. (4) Shawls with cone pattern. One of them (Fig. 6) is a *kaddār* shawl the rows of cones being five. In another *kalangidār* shawl (Fig. 7) the cones are beautifully combined with rosettes and leaves. In another type (Fig. 8), while the border is decorated with a series of cones, the diapered field is decorated with diamonds filled with flowers. (5) *Thāldār* pattern (Fig. 9) in which the corner and central cones are attached on netted grounds. (6) Embroidered shawls (Figs. 10-12). In a *chānddār* shawl (Fig. 10) with the field decorated with a roundel in the centre and with the cones and lamps and the birds, a beautiful effect has been obtained by a clever combination of woven and embroidered patterns. In a second embroidered shawl (Fig. 11) the floral and cone motives are done so artistically as to give an impression of a printed calico or a carpet. Another richly embroidered shawl (Fig. 12) is notable for its balanced pattern and clever use of the needle. (7) Modern shawls and *jāmewār* with intricate floral patterns. Thus it could be safely said that the Museum has a rich collection of shawls which contains many rare pieces.

No. 53.40. Fig. 1.

Kashmīr shawl (8' 2" x 4' 1"); late 18th century. The white field is decorated with a floral diaper; the flowers being in blue, green and red. The borders are decorated with a beautiful meander in red, yellow and blue. It is a rare piece.

*Descriptions of the Shawls:—*

No. 51.27. Fig. 2.

Kashmīr shawl; middle of the 18th century. White field with *kalangī* borders. The narrow edge border running all round is decorated with floral meanders. The field is decorated with floral sprays arranged in vertical bands. The pattern consists of rose flowers alternating with sprigs and palms. It is a very good example of the 18th century shawls of Kashmīr. It is worthy to note that the patterns are much more simple than the heavy decorative motifs consisting of arabesques and *kalangīs* employed in the 19th century shawls.

No. 51.31. Fig. 3.

Woollen sash. Kashmīr. 5' 6" x 11". 18th century A.D.

The black sash has a plain narrow border running all round and sewn separately to it. Side borders are decorated with two bands, one decorated with flowers and the other with cartouches and palmates. The end borders are decorated with cypress trees and a decorative chain.



No. 22.3130. Fig. 4 a-d.

Square Kashmir shawl known as *rūmāl* (5' x 5'), late 18th century. It has an orange field bounded by a border composed of pears, swords, men, animals and trees, so halved that the two borders when placed together form the top and bottom of the pears.

No. 53.38. Fig. 5.

*Shikārgāh* shawl. (5' 3½" x 5' 6"); Kulu or Kashmir; beginning of the 19th century. Chain stitch embroidery.

The brown field is divided in two concentric circles; the larger circle is divided into a series of cartouches and heart-shaped panels with a rosette in the centre. The panels contain figures of men and women, horse-riders, birds and tigers. The second circle consists of a continuous line of the figures of soldiers dressed in semi-European fashion as in No. 53.33. The corners are also divided into a series of panels in which the figures of birds, deer, hares, antelopes and a prince attended by women and musicians may be seen. The borders are decorated with a series of meanders filled with animals and birds.

No. 53.41. Fig. 6.

Kashmir shawl with old borders (7' 3" x 3' 9"); late 18th century. The borders have been stitched to a new piece. The yellow ground is decorated with *kalangīs* which look like stylised plants. The colours used are red, black, blue and green. This particular style is called *minākārī* or enamelling.

No. 53.39. Fig. 7.

*Rumāl*, Kashmir work (6' 2" x 3' 2"); late 18th century. The green field is decorated with a series of vertical *kalangīs* filled with intricate floral designs. The interspaces are filled with rosettes, small *kalangīs* and minute flowers. The borders are decorated with cartouches filled with stylised plants and other floral motifs. The shawl gives effect of a printed calico piece.

No. 22.3129. Fig. 8.

Kashmir hand-woven shawl (9' 8" x 4' 3") of very artistic workmanship, 18th century. *Jāmewār* flower pattern with diagonal red yellow lines running diagonally across white ground covered with flowers, thus forming squares filled in with rosettes. The shawl is bounded by a narrow border, and a design of vertical pears at top and bottom completes it.

## No. 22.3222. Fig. 9.

Kashmīr shawl (6 1/3' x 6 1/3'). Early 19th century. The field is decorated with vertical panels filled with flowers. In the centre there is a netted design with a rosette and four *kalangīs*. The corners are decorated with *kalangīs* stitched on nets.

## No. 22.3131. Fig. 10.

Kashmīr shawl; middle of the 18th century, (7' 8" x 6' 10").

One of the most beautiful shawls, worked on a white ivory ground with a representation of the moon in the centre. Within the moon is a lotus flower having pears introduced into the petals, surrounded by a purple ring, the rays are shown in a mixed design suggesting flames. The four corners of the square are picked out with large pears, etc. The whole enclosed by a border of three distinct patterns. It is of Kashmīr needlework and handwoven.

## No. 22.3139. Fig. 11.

Kashmīr shawl (7' 9" x 4' 5"); 18th century.

A Kashmīr shawl on a dark blue ground with a large figure of the moon in the middle, worked in pears and flowers, and enclosed by *Kirmāns*; two smaller moons at either end, the whole space interspersed with pears and lotus flowers; the shawl has a border of pears with wealth of flowers of different kinds. A narrow mosque window design with flowers finishes the shawl.

## No. 53.35. Fig. 12.

Embroidered shawl piece (10' 5" x 3' 9"), Kashmīr; early 19th century.

The blue field is decorated with a series of beautiful embroidered *kalangīs*, half cartouches and a central medallion filled with intricate floral patterns. The borders as well are decorated with a series of repeated *kalangīs* filled with arabesque. The intervening spaces are filled with rich floral patterns.



## A GROUP OF BUNDI MINIATURES IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By Karl J. Khandalawala

The Prince of Wales Museum has recently acquired a considerable number of Rajasthani miniatures of the 18th and 19th centuries. Many of them bear inscriptions, including dates and the name of the painters. They constitute valuable material, in conjunction with the collections of the Indian National Museum, New Delhi, for a history of the later phases of Rajasthani painting. Amongst these miniatures is a remarkable group, acquired from Bundi, which forms the subject matter of the present article. The statement that the find-spot was Bundi is based on the information given by the dealer who sold them to the Museum.

It has long been known to students of Rajasthani art that schools of miniature painting flourished in Bundi in the 18th and 19th centuries if not earlier. But our knowledge of the earlier work is still hazy though Raja Satrusāl (1650-1658) is said to have had painters in his employ. The collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, has some excellent examples of the Bundi school and so also has the Indian National Museum. Those in the latter Museum were originally in the Sarola collection of Kotah. A study of the available material indicates that there were at least two styles in vogue at Bundi during the 18th century each having its own features and yet related to one another.

The first style is typified by the splendid *Rāgamālā* and other Bundi miniatures of the Sarola collection (Indian National Museum). They have the following characteristics:

- (1) Many miniatures are surrounded by a black border with a silver design thereon. This black and silver border is peculiar to the Bundi school and is a very common feature of Bundi painting. The *Rāgamālā* however has plain red borders.
- (2) The faces of men and women have a ruddy-pinkish complexion, and the outline of the face is in red.
- (3) There is a thin red line between the black eyebrows and the dark eyelid.

- (4) Women-folk are commonly seen with saffron powder applied to their foreheads.
- (5) Women have their lips painted red.
- (6) The design on sarees commonly consists of a 'check' pattern in black and gold, or red and gold, or brown and gold, etc. Gold is always one of the colours in this 'check' pattern.
- (7) The *choli* (bodice) is short, and covers only a portion of the breasts, so that the lower half of the breasts is exposed.
- (8) The women-folk wear an ornament which consists of a string of pearls curving across one side of the forehead and joining the ear-ring. It is clearly seen in Fig. 22.
- (9) When male figures are clean-shaven, the ruddy cheeks are often modelled by employing the technique of shading the cheeks with a hatching of closely-drawn, fine black lines. This method of shading often gives the cheeks, or the chin, as the case may be, the appearance of being covered with dark down-like hair.
- (10) The turban is commonly of the type known as '*Khanjardār*', a name given to it because the curved projection on top is like the flat, curved blade of a dagger.
- (11) An ornament hangs from the turban in the form of a cluster.
- (12) Bright orange patches are seen in the sky.
- (13) The treatment of clouds is heavy and even crude, but always dramatic.
- (14) Lightning is depicted by thick snake-like formations in gold and red.
- (15) Musical instruments often have a pattern thereon in black and silver.
- (16) Vases and furniture, such as thrones, stools, vessels are painted opulently in gold and given an appearance of being encrusted with gems.
- (17) The *chauris* (fly-whisks) are white with pinkish ends.
- (18) Landscape backgrounds have trees of various shapes and forms, usually in a cluster.



To the second style belong the miniatures dealt with in this article. To those familiar with Bundi painting the relationship of the two styles is immediately apparent from the following features:

- (a) The facial and physical types are similar though the faces in the group under discussion are more finely finished.
- (b) The cattle, with short compact bodies, are similarly drawn and coloured.
- (c) The landscape backgrounds with clusters of trees of various forms are seen in both styles.
- (d) Heavy dramatic clouds are also common to both styles.
- (e) The shading technique for unshaven male faces is the same.

But despite obvious similarities, the group with which we are dealing is immediately distinguishable from the first group. The distinction is not only one of manner but also of technique. In contradistinction to the ruddy-pinkish complexion of the women in the first group, the faces of the women in the second group are heavily shaded to secure modelling and are exquisitely finished. Due to this excess of shading the womenfolk of the second group are dark complexioned as a rule. The drawing and brushwork both betoken strong Moghul influences of the second half of the 18th century, while themes popular with Moghul artists are frequently met with. Though numerous miniatures of the first group exist, the known examples of the second group are indeed limited in number. Those acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum are certainly amongst the finest specimens of this category.

Figs. (13), (14), (15) and (16) are all in imitation of subjects popular with Moghul artists. But the Bundi artist has not slavishly followed the Moghul versions. It may be that a family of artists, trained in the Moghul school of the late Mahomed Shāh period and the early Shāh Ālam period, migrated from some Moghul city or from the Nawabi province of Oudh to the Bundi court during the period 1760-1770 A.D. and there came under the influence of the local Bundi style, thus producing the examples which belong to the second group. What is also likely is that a family or guild of local, Bundi-school painters, of the period circa 1760-1770 A.D. was influenced by the Shāh Ālam school or the Oudhi-school painters who migrated to the Bundi court. Or it may be that local Bundi artists came in contact with the productions of the prolific Shāh Ālam school or the Oudhi school and adopted their mannerisms. The device of shading the



face with fine lines (*khat pardāz*) was a practice greatly in vogue in the Shāh Ālam period, though it is also seen earlier in the Mahomed Shāh period. It is not suggested that the practice of shading the face was not known before the reigns of Mahomed Shāh (1720-1748 A.D.) and Shāh Ālam (1759-1806 A.D.). The Moghul painters of earlier periods did on occasion resort to shading but the usual method was stippling with fine black dots (*dānā pardāz*). Heavy shading was avoided and only a small portion of the face was stippled. In the Shāh Ālam period, however, the most popular method of shading was to employ a series of fine, closely-set black lines (*khat pardāz*). When this method was spread over a considerable area of the face it gave the face the impression of being dark-complexioned. I am personally inclined to the view that the miniatures with which we are dealing are the work of a family of Bundi artists who were influenced by examples of the Shāh Ālam and Oudhi schools, and adopted their themes, as well as their technique, to suit their own methods of interpretation. The spirit of these paintings is that of Rajput art and I find it somewhat difficult to believe that miniatures such as Figs. (16), (17), (19) and (20) could be the work of Moghul or Oudhi painters who migrated to Bundi. But one cannot afford to be dogmatic when one remembers how the painters from the plains, who sought asylum in the Hill States of the Hīmalayas after 1740 A.D., had their entire outlook and approach rapidly altered under the influence of the new environment and the new atmosphere in which they found themselves. In many respects the second group continues the Bundi tradition seen in the first group, but with a finesse and elegance which is obviously borrowed from Moghul art. The period to which these miniatures belong was also the period during which the school of Meherchand flourished in the province of Oudh, and its influence in other centres may have been greater than has hitherto been suspected. A miniature such as "Love Scene" (Fig. 20) savours both of the atmosphere and technique of Meherchand's art, while Fig. 16 may also have been influenced by an Oudhi version. But whereas Meherchand's art was heavily weighed down with limitations imposed by a purely sensuous interpretation of love, the same type of subject matter when it came into contact with the spirit of Rajput art was transformed into the beautiful "Love Scene" (Fig. 20) where Radha surrenders to the blue god.

In "Muslim Ladies visiting a Saint" (Fig. 13), the artist has copied a theme which enjoyed popularity during the reign of Shāh Jehān and even after. Whether Fig. 13 is derived from an original Moghul version or from a copy thereof, it is not possible to say. In the reign of Shāh Ālam (1759-1806) copies of miniatures of the 17th century were constantly made and it is from such a copy that the



artist of Fig. 13 may have obtained his inspiration. The Bundi artist appears to have reproduced the white bullocks, the elegant cart, and the two holy men quite faithfully from the Moghul version, but the women-folk are in the characteristic Bundi manner with full faces heavily shaded along the cheeks and upto the chin. It should be noted that the figures of the women tend to be somewhat squat, a characteristic of the Shāh Ālam period. The young girl attendant holding the water vessel wears a Muslim hat. The landscape background is also a departure from the Moghul version. The Bundi artist has introduced a setting of Rajasthani hills guarding the approaches to a typical Rajput city. The two holy men in their hermitage against a green hillside, and the purplish rocks are in the pure Moghul tradition and are rendered with a high degree of technical skill. Bundi school characteristics which have been introduced are as follows:—

- (1) The water of the lotus pool and of the stream in the foreground are painted in silver. The use of silver for water is typical of the Bundi school though it is also met with at times in other schools of Rajasthani painting. The Bundi painters were fond of the constant use of silver and the curtains of the cart are also painted in silver.
- (2) A dramatic orange-gold sky surmounts the landscape.

On the reverse is an inscription which states that Muslim women have come on a visit to a saint. The workmanship of every detail of the miniature betokens a highly practised hand. A large number of Muslim painters were in the employ of the Rajput states and Fig. 13 is in all probability the work of a Muslim artist working at the Bundi court. The probabilities are that the artist of Fig. 13 was inspired by the original Moghul version itself and not by a copy thereof. The reason for so thinking is the excellence of the characterization of the two holy men which is in the best manner of the late Shāh Jehān and early Aurangzeb periods.

The mixed Rajput-Moghul style, which prevailed in many Rajput States in the 18th century, has a beauty all its own which has not been sufficiently recognized. It is early Rajasthani painting which has hitherto claimed, and rightly so, most attention, because of its vitality, its oft-times primitive approach, and its glowing colour. But our appreciation of early Rajasthani painting should not warp our perspective and make us unmindful of the refined Rajput-Moghul style with its old-world grace and nostalgic charm which so aptly convey the leisured atmosphere of palace zenanas



and palace gardens and give us a glimpse into the life of the semi-mediaeval Rajput courts and aristocracy of the 18th century.

"Laila and Majnūn" (Fig. 14) is again a copy or adaptation from a Moghul original of the first half of the 18th century. It is probably by the same hand as Fig. 13. The background is very palely coloured in the manner of some paintings of Mahomed Shāh period (1720-1748 A.D.). Majnūns' face is drawn just as a Moghul artist would have handled it, but the nurse's face is in the characteristic Bundi style with heavy shaded cheeks and chin. Laila's face, in contradistinction, is very lightly shaded and is more a Moghul type than a Bundi type. The half-starved jaded nag is in imitation of the Moghul version.

"Cat stealing Parrot" (Fig. 15) is also a copy from a Moghul version of the same theme. The Moghul version was in all probability a contemporary study of the Shāh Ālam period because this particular theme was popular with the Shah Ālam period artists. The face of the maidservant who has seized the cat by its leg is of particular interest because it affords an interesting comparison with the face of the lady in Fig. 22 which is an earlier Bundi miniature dated 1742 A.D. and which throws some light on the dating of our group. It should also be observed that the *choli* (bodice) of the maidservant in Fig. 15 does not entirely cover the breasts but leaves the lower segments bare. This is a characteristic of many Bundi miniatures of the Indian National Museum, New Delhi. The mistress, who has risen with a stick in hand to chase the cat, wears a Muslim hat, and her loose hair is very carefully drawn. The sky is grey, which is a colour repeatedly employed for the sky in the miniatures of this group. I personally regard this treatment of the sky in a drab grey as quite unsatisfactory, but it appears to have had a vogue with the Bundi artists who painted the group of miniatures with which we are dealing. The cushions are of silver brocade. The cat, the parrot, and the lady with the stick, all seem to be copied from the Moghul version, but the background consisting of a cluster of trees, and the architecture are typical of the Bundi style.

"The Secret Meeting" (Fig. 16) is again a copy from what was probably a contemporary Oudhi or Moghul version of this theme. One such version is in the Prince of Wales Museum. The architecture is painted blue-grey to purple-grey. This colour convention was usually observed by the Bundi artists in the painting of architecture in night scenes. The expanse of water, where barges are anchored, is painted silver, while the sky is black with a few stars. The tree-forms are characteristically clustered together in the Bundi manner. The hero climbing the wall is not bearded, as would appear



at first sight, but the heavy shading on his cheeks and chin gives the impression that his face is covered with soft down-like hair. The heroine's face is also shaded in the typical Bundi manner. A pair of ducks is swimming in the water just as in Fig. 13, and in both these miniatures, herons are fishing along the banks.

One of the very finest of the group with which we are dealing is "The Water Sports of Krishna" (Fig. 17). The expanse of water painted in silver, and the blue sky with silver and white clouds, afford a fine contrast to the huge banyan tree which dominates the composition. Women bathing in a pool, was a common theme amongst the Moghul miniaturists of the first half of the 18th century, but here the theme is transformed into the water sports of Krishna with the *gopas* and *gopīs*. All the *gopīs* are finely drawn and the usual Bundi technique of shading the face is very prominent. The delicate figures of the *gopīs* are in marked contrast to the rotund, fat-faced, shaven-headed *gopas*. Only the figure of Krishna is attractive as he sits on the tiled platform with a halo around his head, and again when he swims in the tank embracing Radha the beloved. The work of the artists who painted Fig. 17 and the other miniatures reproduced herein, appears to have achieved fame even outside Bundi because a Marwar school artist has made copy of Fig. 17 in the Marwar style of the early 19th century. The Marwar copy, which is nowhere so fine as Fig. 17, is also in the Prince of Wales Museum.

"Cowdust" (Fig. 18) is a delightfully quaint, though not profound treatment of this famous theme so beloved of the Pahari artists of the Himalayan Hill States. The short, compact cattle with prominent eyes, looking almost like wooden toys, are characteristic of the Bundi school, while the cluster of various forms of trees and the heavy gold-shot clouds are also constant features of Bundi painting. The faces of the *gopīs* on the terrace are shaded in the manner peculiar to this group. The squat forms of Krishna and his companions, as well as of the gods in the background, were no doubt influenced by the squat forms so common in the contemporary Moghul school of the Shāh Ālam period.

In "The Snake Charmer" (Frontispiece in colour) one observes the expanse of water painted in silver with the usual *cliché* of a pair of ducks swimming therein. The deep blue sky, the emerald green of the hillside, and the various shades of green seen in the cluster of trees are colours all typical of this group of the Bundi school. Another feature is the tiled floor which is also seen in Fig. 17. It would appear that Krishna, who gazes from the balcony, is wearing a beard, but in fact what appears to be a beard is the characteristic



heavy shading seen in these Bundi miniatures. The faces of the three girls at the doorway are not heavily shaded but nevertheless some shading can be seen if the colour reproduction is carefully inspected. The architecture is also characteristic of the Bundi school with its *chhajjas* (eaves boards), small projecting balconies, and multi-coloured cotton weather-shades supported on wooden poles. Though Krishna is featured in the miniature, this painting is really no more than a documentary of life in a well-to-do man's house where a snake charmer is called into the zenana quarters to amuse the inmates with his tricks. The female forms are tall and graceful in contrast to the shorter and not so elegant forms seen in "Cow-dust" (Fig. 18). Krishna's curved, sloping forehead, and flat compact turban are characteristic of many male figures in all schools of Bundi painting.

"The Timid Rādhā" (Fig. 19) shows Rādhā being taken to Krishna's apartment by her attendants. Krishna draws his shy beloved towards him as the attendants are about to depart. The cluster of trees so common in Bundi painting is seen in the background, as also the dull grey sky with a crude silver moon. I have already remarked that this treatment of the sky is unsatisfactory and it is difficult to account for this repeated lapse of colour-sense on the part of the artists who painted this group of miniatures. The water in the fountains is painted silver, and the curtains, the border of the coverlet, and the pillows are also in silver. Even the *oḍhnī* (wimple) of the stooping attendant is entirely of silver stuff. The Bundi artists were inordinately fond of the use of silver. A pair of ducks, a *cliché* observed before, is seen in the foreground near the fountains. The faces of Krishna, Rādhā, and the two attendants, are all fully shaded in the characteristic Bundi manner. There are saffron marks on the foreheads of the womenfolk. Such saffron marks are commonly seen in Bundi miniatures. The lovers' bridal bed is spread out on an open terrace between two pavilions, and the cluster of trees secludes them from the outside world. The fountains are gently playing and a full moon is in the sky. The miniature has captured all the beauty and charm of the meeting of the two lovers on this night of nights—a theme immortalized in Hindi poetry.

"Love Scene" (Fig. 20) depicts the surrender of Rādhā to the passion of the blue god. The night is advanced, and in keeping with the usual technique of the Bundi school, when depicting night scenes, the architecture is painted a blue-grey to purely-grey. Rādhā's loosened hair is painted with great skill in the manner of the Moghul artists of the Aurangzeb period, but this treatment of the hair in



numerous delicate strands was also revived by the Oudhi school of Meherchand in the third quarter of the 18th century. The usual cluster of trees is seen in the background, and the architecture is of the Bundi school. The candlesticks and vessels are of silver. The characteristic heavy, crude clouds dominate the sky. Krishna's face is heavily shaded, but not that of Rādhā. As commonly seen in the Bundi school, Rādhā's hair is brushed back from her forehead.

"Krishna and Rādhā" (Fig. 21) is a companion picture to "Love Scene" (Fig. 20). The same blue-grey to purple-grey Bundi type architecture is employed to suggest the darkness of the night. Heavy, crude clouds dominate the grey-black sky. The thick, snake-like formations of lightning in gold are also seen. Krishna's forehead is sloping as in "The Snake Charmer" (Frontispiece in colour), and he wears the same compact, flat type of turban. The string of pearls round the turban should be noted. Krishna's face, as well as the faces of the womenfolk are shaded in the characteristic Bundi technique. The *dīpalakshmis* on the ground (lamp-bearer images), in front of the lovers, are of shining brass. They cast a glow over the recess where the lovers are seated, while a band of impish and half-envious maidens peep through the curtain and over the wall. The leaves of a banana tree enliven the background. The banana tree is constantly seen in Bundi miniatures. It is to be found in every cluster of tree-forms. In Figs. (16), (20) and (21) the mosaic flooring should be noted. Tiled or mosaic floors were apparently very popular in Bundi when these miniatures were painted.

On an analysis of all these miniatures three female types are found to be common.

- (1) Short, slender bodies having small delicate faces with slightly receding chins and narrow almond-shaped eyes. (Figs. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21).
- (2) Tall, slender bodies having slightly long faces and the same narrow almond-shaped eyes (Figs. 19, 20 and a miniature of girls on a swing in my collection).
- (3) Short, well-filled bodies, having round plump faces. The eyes are not of the narrow almond-shaped type (Figs. 13, 14 and 15.).

With regard to the date of these miniatures the following factors incline me to date them round about the period 1760-1770 A.D., though to provide for a margin of error the period 1740-1775 may be adopted.



- (1) It is obvious from their most marked characteristic, namely the technique of heavily shading both male and female faces with a series of closely drawn black lines (*khat pardāz*), that the painters who painted these miniatures were influenced by the Moghul school of the late Mahomed Shāh period and of the Shāh Ālam period. Hence a date earlier than *circa* 1740 is not very likely.
- (2) In Figs. 16 and 20 the influence of the Oudhi Kalam of the period 1755-1775 appears to be present.
- (3) The tendency in some miniatures to draw squat figures, such as those of the cowherds and the gods in "Cowdust" (Fig. 18), is a pronounced trait of the Shāh Ālam school, though it is seen even as early as *circa* 1750 A.D.
- (4) The strong Moghul influence in these miniatures is most aptly related to the late Mahomed Shah school and to the school of Shāh Ālam as well as to the provincial Oudhi school. Accordingly the period 1740-1775 appears to cover the limits which may be assigned to this phase of Bundi art.
- (5) A miniature of the Bundi school dated 1742 A.D. (Fig. 22) gives us an idea from where a face such as that of the maid-servant in Fig. (14) or that of the maidservant in Fig. (15) was derived. Even in Fig. (22) the lady's face is quite heavily shaded.

Thus we find that the technique of shading the face was already in use amongst the Bundi artists as early as 1742 A.D. and hence *circa* 1740 may be regarded as the upper limit of the miniatures under discussion. The artists who painted miniatures such as Fig. (22) may later have come under the influence of the Shāh Ālam school and produced the type of miniatures with which we are dealing. A companion miniature to Fig. (22) bears the identical inscription found on Fig. (22). In the *Western Railway Annual*, 1953, a miniature from this group, belonging to Mr. R. Leyden, is reproduced in colour as "The Evening Bath". In the note on page 50 thereof Mr. Leyden suggests the late 18th or early 19th century, but these dates are not feasible. During the early 19th century, if not a little earlier, Bundi was under the influence of the contemporary Jaipur style, and this fact is reflected in the existing frescoes in the Rang Mahal palace ("The Paintings of Bundi" by Dr. Motichandra,



*Western Railway Annual*, 1953, page 89). Having regard to the political situation in Bundi it does not seem probable that the finished style of the miniatures with which we are dealing came into vogue till Ummad Singh (1743-1771) had restored Bundi to some semblance of prosperity after 1749 A.D. It is to his reign (1743-1771 A.D.) that the group which forms the subject of the present article is best ascribed and the most suitable decade appears to be 1760-1770 having regard to all the characteristics of the group.

## A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE CLAY SEALS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By S. N. Chakravarti

In a table case in the Epigraphical Gallery of the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum are displayed clay seals from Rājghaṭ and Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara) in Uttara Pradesh and Nālandā in Bihar and inscribed clay tablets from Buddha-Gayā in Bihar. The main feature of a seal, individuality, is entirely wanting in the tablets. Besides, the tablets are quite plain on the back, whereas the seals have distinct string or tape marks on the back which show that they were attached to letters or parcels. The tablets, e.g., those from Buddha-Gayā, show *stūpa* or Buddha representations, accompanied by the so-called Buddhist creed: *Ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetum tēshāṃ Tathāgato hy-avadat tēshāṃ cha yo nirodha evaṃ-vādī Mahā-śramaṇaḥ*, 'Buddha has revealed the cause of those phenomena which proceed from a cause as well as (the means of) their prevention. So says the Great Monk'. According to the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing,<sup>1</sup> two kinds of *śarīras* are to be placed inside the *stūpa*, namely, the bodily relics of Buddha and the *gāthā* on the Chain of Causation, in other words the Formula of the Faith. This explains the use of the tablets. Among the seals two general types prevail. One type consists of those that were attached to letters or parcels and the other type of those that were used as tokens or pass-ports. The reverse of letter seals show clear marks of string or tape, whereas the other type is quite plain on the back.

We may cite the following instances regarding the use of the seals in the life of ancient India.<sup>2</sup> In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa the finger-ring presented to Śākuntalā by king Dushyanta was incised with the letters of his name. So also, in Viśākhadatta's *Mudrā-rākshasa* the letter and parcel with which Siddhārthaka was caught when trying to escape from the court of Malayaketu were stamped with the seal of the minister Rākshasa. Siddhārthaka was arrested because he had not obtained a seal from Bhāgurāyaṇa

1. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Takakusu), p. 151.

2. For the purpose which seals served in the life of ancient India see J. F. Fleet, "Epigraphy" in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1909)—The Indian Empire, Vol. II, pp. 29-31; I. Ph. Vogel, *Excavations at Kasi in A.R., Arch. Surv. of India*, 1905-06, pp. 80-81; J. H. Marshall, *Excavations at Bhita in A.R., Arch. Surv. of India*, 1911-12, pp. 44-46.

3. The Audumbaras are located in the valley of the Beas in the Northern Panjāb from the findspots of their coins. See John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII.



who had been in charge of Malayaketu's camp. We learn from the Life of Hiuen-Tsiang that at the time of his departure from India the Chinese pilgrim was furnished by King Harshavardhana with letters written on fine white cotton stuff, bearing impressions of the royal seal made in red wax. The *Harsha-charita* of Bāṇa mentions another manner of making the seal. When Harshavardhana encamped, for his expedition against Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, at a place, not far from his capital, on the bank of the Sarasvatī, the *Grāmākshapaṭalika*, or keeper of the village records, there asking the king to issue orders of the day, presented a gold seal bearing the devise of a bull, and produced a ball or disc of clay on which to stamp the seal. The *Vana-parvan* of the Mahābhārata (Adhyāya 15, verse 18) states that for the defence of the city of Dvārakā on the occasion of a siege it was ordered that "nobody was to leave the city without a pass-port, nor was anybody to be admitted unless he was equipped with a pass-port". A similar stanza in the *Hari-vamśa* states that "all persons, desirous of going should go with a seal of the king. The door-keeper should not admit any person who did not possess a seal". It was also customary in ancient India to authenticate such of the copper-plate records as were donative charters by attaching a copper or bronze reproduction of the royal seal.

According to their legends the clay seals in the Museum collection fall under several heads: religious, official, private and so on. In the list appended below, the more important of the seals from Nālandā, Kasiā and Rājghaṭ are described (Fig. 23).

#### A. Religious

1. Circular seal, diameter 4.5 cm. Above, the Wheel of the Law (*dharmachakra*) between two deer couchant, suggesting the scene of the Deer-Park of Sārnāth where Buddha first preached the Law. Below, legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāriy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*, 'of the Community of Reverend Monks of the Great Monastery at Nālandā'. From Nālandā.
2. Fragment of oblong seal. Legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D. *Śrī-Mahā-parini[r\*]vv[ā ṇa\*] - Mahāvihāriy-[ārya\*] - bhikshu - saṅ [ghasya\*]*, 'of the Community of Reverend Monks of the Great Monastery of the blessed Great Decease'. From Kasiā.
3. Seal, die surface circular 2 cm. in diameter. Above, as in 1. Below, legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: *Śrī-Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāriy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*. From Kasiā.



4. Fragment of oblong seal, 3.25 by 2.5 cm. Above, as in 2. Below, legend in Nāgarī characters of 9th century A.D.: [Śrī-Mahā\*] parinirvva- [āṇa\*] - [Mahāvi\*] hāriy-ārya- [bhikshu-saṅghasya\*]. From Kasiā.
5. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1 cm. Legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: Apramāda. It occurs thrice. From Kasiā.
6. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1.4 cm. Legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: Tārāśrayaḥ. From Kasiā.

#### B. Private

7. Circular seal, diameter 3 cm. Śiva standing to front and leaning with left arm on bull to left; trident-axe in railing on one side and tree in railing on the other. Cf. Kushāṇa coins with Śiva figure. Above and below, legend in Kushāṇa characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: .v[i\*] shka ... putrasya . la . sya. From Rājghāt.
8. Seal, die surface circular 1.5 cm. in diameter. Legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: Ghaṇṭakasya. Above, conch-shell. Below, conventional lotus. From Kasiā.
9. Oblong seal, 2.75 by 2 cm. Legend in Kushāṇa characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: Pari [sheṇasya]. Above legend, bow and arrow as on Āndhra coins. From Rājghāt.
10. Token, die surface oblong 1.25 by 1 cm. Above, boat. Below, legend in Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: Īśvaradatta. From Rājghāt.
11. Oblong seal, 2.5 by 1.75 cm. Legend illegible. Above legend, bull couchant to left. From Rājghāt.
12. Token, die surface oblong 1.5 by 1.25 cm. Legend in Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: Keśavaśarman. From Rājghāt.
13. Circular token, diameter 3.25 cm. Above, bull standing to left. Below, separated by a beaded line, legend in Nāgarī characters of the 9th century A.D.: Śrī-A ... From Rājghāt.
14. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1.3 cm. Boar couchant to left. Above, legend in Kushāṇa characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: .rasakasya. From Rājghāt.
15. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1.5 cm. Camel standing to right. Above, small animal figure. Below, legend in Kushāṇa characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: ....sya. From Rājghāt.
16. Seal, die surface circular 2 cm. in diameter. Above, bull standing to left between two standards. Below, legend in Kushāṇa



characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: *Nāgārjunasya*. From Rājghāt.

17. Circular seal, diameter 2.5 cm. Above, bull couchant to right. Below, legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: *Amaradattakasya*. From Rājghāt.
18. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1.5 cm. Above, bull couchant to left. Below, legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: *Janārdanasya*. From Rājghāt.
19. Seal, die surface rectangular 2 by 1.5 cm. Above, bow and arrow as on Āndhra coins. Below, legend in Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: *Parisheṇasya*. From Rājghāt.
20. Circular seal, diameter 4 cm. Bull standing to left, with arrow on one side and tree in railing on the other. Above, legend in Kushāṇa characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.: *Dhanadevasya*. From Rājghāt.

#### C. Official

21. Oblong seal, 2 by 1.75 cm. Above, bull couchant to left. Below, legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: [A] m [a\*] *tya-Janārdanasya*. From Rājghāt.

#### D. Tribal

22. Circular token, diameter 1.5 cm. Obverse, domed *stūpa*. Below, legend in Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: *Udumbara*.<sup>3</sup> Reverse, bull standing to left. From Rājghāt.

#### E. Seals with devices only

23. Seal, die surface oblong 2 by 1.5 cm. Bearded head to right, recalling Roman work. From Rājghāt.
24. Seal, die surface oblong 2.5 by 1.5 cm. Garuḍa to front between two standards. From Rājghāt.
26. Seal, die surface circular 1.5 cm. in diameter. Apollo standing to right and holding bow and arrow, as on Indo-Greek coins. From Rājghāt.
27. Seal, die surface circular 1.75 cm. in diameter. Beading around. Royal figure, helmeted, to left, and with spear in the right hand, as on Indo-Greek coins. From Rājghāt.
28. Seal, die surface oblong 1.5 by 1.25 cm. Winged Nike standing to right and with palm and wreath, as on Indo-Greek coins. From Rājghāt.
29. Fragmentary seal, die surface circular 1.75 cm. in diameter. Seated skeleton in meditation. From Kasiā.

NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED BRONZE JAINA IMAGE  
IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By S. N. Chakravarti

This is a Treasure Trove find. It was discovered in the village of Chahardi, Taluka Chopda, District East Khandesh. The bronze represents a Jina in the attitude known as *Kāyotsarga* or 'dedication of the body', showing the Jina engaged in meditation in a standing posture with the arms hanging down by the sides (Fig. 24). Miniature figures of the other twenty-three Jinas in the seated attitude of meditation are arranged in horizontal rows above and on either side of the Jina in the standing attitude of meditation. Two fly-whisk bearers (*chāmaradhara*) stand one on either side of the central figure and below the attending male figures on one side is a seated male figure (*yaksha* Sarvānubhūti) with a citron in one hand and a money-bag in the other, evidently the Jaina counterpart of the Buddhist Jambhala and the Brahmanical Kubera, and on the other side the seated figure of the *yakshī* Ambikā with a child in one hand and a bunch of fruits in the other. Below the standing Jina there is in the middle of the pedestal the representation of the Wheel of the Law between two couchant deer. Nine small seated images of Nava-grahas at the bottom of the pedestal complete the whole bronze image. There is a short inscription on the back of the image. It reads:—

L.1. Śrī Jālavṛiddha Chandra-kule Śrī-Pradyumnā—

L.2. chāryya Pārśva śrāvakasya ||

The present image was first noticed by Sri G. C. Chandra, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona.<sup>1</sup> The central figure, that is the standing, Jina, was identified by him with the help of a well-known Jaina Āchāryya Vijayendrasuri as the representation of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthankara. Since then this identification was followed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and in the Exhibition of Art chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan held in London in 1947-48 and in the Exhibition of Indian Art held in Delhi in 1948.

1. *Annual Report*, Archaeological Survey of India, 1925-26, pp. 167-68, Pl. LXVI, b & c.



The Jaina Tirthankaras are twenty-four in number, each having his separate cognizance (*chinha*), usually placed under the image.<sup>2</sup> The cognizance of Nemi or Arishtanemi is the conch (*śaṅkha*). In the present image the cognizance conch is not depicted in the pedestal. But instead there is the representation of the Wheel of the Law between two couchant deer. Now, Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthankara, has the deer (*mṛiga*) for his cognizance. Accordingly, the standing Jina of the present image has to be identified with Śāntinātha.

As regards the date of the present image, we are fortunate enough to possess an inscription on its back. The characters of the inscriptions are essentially of the same type as those of the inscriptions of Meruvarman engraved on the pedestals of the brass images discovered in Chambā.<sup>3</sup> The script of the inscriptions of Meruvarman belongs to the eighth century. Accordingly, the present image can be assigned to the same period.

The image of Śāntinātha is clad in transparent garment. The shoulders are heavy. The face has a smooth roundness and what is remarkable is the spirit of calm contemplation of the Absolute pervading the expression of the face.

The present image, on iconography and style, at once reminds us of the big hoard of Jaina bronzes discovered at Akoṭā near Baroda. The Akoṭā bronzes provide tangible evidence of the existence of the School of the Ancient West started by Śāraṅgadeva in Marudeśa in the seventh century A.D. as referred by Tārānātha. From the illustrations of the Akoṭā bronzes, accompanying the two articles of Sri U. P. Shah in the Bulletin No. 1 of the Prince of Wales Museum, it is clear that the specimens of the hoard do not all belong to the same period. The first image of Ṛishabhanātha<sup>4</sup> has a smooth round face. The female fly-whisk bearer<sup>5</sup> has a short broad face. The second image of Ṛishabhanātha<sup>6</sup> marks the transition from the smooth round face to the short broad face and recalls at once the Chopda image of Śāntinātha in the treatment of shoulders. The image of Ṛishabhanātha with a smooth roundness in the face is a masterpiece. The modelling is slender and graceful; the shoulders are not heavy. The face shows the *yogin* absorbed in meditation. Thus this image of Ṛishabhanātha may be assigned to an earlier

2. For the principal particulars of the Jaina Tirthankaras, see the article of James Burgess entitled 'Papers on Śatrunjaya and the Jainas, I.A., Vol. II, pp. 134 ff.

3. For the inscriptions of Meruvarman, see J. Ph. Vogel's article in A.R., Archaeological Survey of India, for 1902-03, pp. 240 ff.

4. Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 1, Pl. VII, Fig. 15.

5. Ibid., Pl. X.

6. Ibid., Pl. XII, Fig. 21.



date than the image of Śāntinātha, to the seventh century A.D. The second image of Ṛishabhanātha may be assigned to the 8th century A.D., since its face is no longer round but appears a little squarish. The female fly-whisk bearer has a squarish face and may be assigned to the 10th-12th century A.D. The figure does not possess proportional limbs, more attention being paid to ornamentation than to modelling.

But what about the age of the five Jina bronzes from Vaḷā<sup>7</sup> and the bronze image of Jaina Sarasvatī from Vasantaḡadh<sup>8</sup> in the present context? The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>9</sup> assigned the bronzes from Vaḷā, on the evidence of the script of a few letters visible on the pedestals of three of them, to the sixth century A.D. From the standard of artistic achievement in the modelling of face and body, the Vaḷā images are inferior in workmanship to the images of Ṛishabhanātha from Akoṭā and to the image of Śāntinātha from Chopda. Thus I would like to assign the Vaḷā images to the 8th-9th century A.D. This dating is not, however, in serious conflict with the palaeographical evidence. The characters of the Western script as pointed by Bühler, show three stages in their development, that of the 5th century, that of the 6th and 7th centuries, and that of the 8th and 9th centuries, which last is characterized by very markedly cursive forms.<sup>10</sup> The inscriptions on the Vaḷā bronzes have now become practically illegible. But even from the faint traces of the letters, which appear to be cursive, I venture to say that one could not be dogmatic about the stage the letters represented even in their better state of preservation at the time of the discovery of the bronzes.

7. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII, Fig. 17.

8. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI.

9. *Annual Progress Report*, Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, for the year ending 31-3-1915, p. 30. Dr. Bhandarkar took the bronzes as Buddha images. Dr. H. D. Sankalia, in his *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Appendix K, pp. 83-84, pointed out for the first time that the bronzes were Jina images.

10. Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, Eng. Trans., p. 63.



## SOME ASPECTS OF YAKSHA CULT IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Moti Chandra

Hindu religion is rightly termed as a conglomeration of beliefs ranging from the monotheism of Vedānta to the animistic beliefs of the primitive tribes. Once Hindu religion is properly and scientifically analysed, it reveals the superimposed strata of beliefs and cults strongly venerated by the bulk of the people of this land. The strength of folk religion could be judged by the fact that for a very long time Buddhism had to temporise with Yaksha and Nāga cults, which were gradually assimilated in Buddhism proper. Early Indian art bears ample testimony to this process of assimilation and synthesis. The appearance of Yaksha and Nāga worship, and floral and animal motives in early Indian art whose significance could only be explained by Water Cosmology shows that a compromise had to be effected with deeply rooted folk beliefs if Buddhism was to make headway in the lower ranks of the society. Brahmanism as depicted in the Purāṇas, inspite of all its highbrowed veneration for the gods of Hindu pantheon, shows clear signs of folk cults, which inspite of all the Brahmanic ingenuity to hide their origin, refuse to be suppressed. The cult of the non-Aryan ancient Mother-Goddess with many of its bloody rites received the Brahmanic sanction, and Śiva one of the holiest of the Hindu triad, when examined historically appears merely as the Grand Man of the Mountain, a hunter equipped with the bow and arrows and blow horn, scouring the jungle in search of wild animals.

The story of the race fusion in India in the first millennium B.C. or even earlier and the gradual transition from the Vedic abstraction to medieval Hinduism is imperfectly known, though it is clear that two tendencies were at work, one spiritual which withdrawing from the outer world laid emphasis on inner life and salvation and the other laid stress on the idea of *Samsāra*, *Karma*, religious asceticism, *Bhakti* and the cults of Śiva, Vāsudeva, Yakshas, Nāgas and innumerable local gods. It is natural to suppose that these ideas and cults did not originate from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but from a rich indigenous tradition, the traces of which are found in Harappa culture where certain traits of modern Hinduism are apparent.

It is assumed by certain scholars that Yakshas and Nāgas typifying the powers of fertility and rainfall were worshipped by the



castless *Dasyus* inhabiting Northern India before the advent of the Aryans. But to assume that the *Yaksha* and *Nāga* cults were primitive and barbaric in character would be wrong as we are only acquainted with the popular and devotional aspects of these faiths; we are yet unaware how far Indian philosophy owes to Āgamas, coeval with the Vedas.

Before dealing with some aspects of *Yaksha* cult and the beliefs connected with it, it would be interesting to examine the significance of *Yaksha* cult in ancient India, a problem ably studied by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his two volumes on *Yakshas*.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the *Yaksha* cult as represented in later literature and in modern folk-lore represents *Yakshas* as blood-thirsty creatures to be classed with demonical beings, but as pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids 'In early (Buddhist) records, *Yaksha*, an appellation is, like *Nāga*, anything but depreciative. Not only *Sakka* is so called, but the Buddha himself is so referred to in poetic diction. . . . . They have a deva's supernormal powers. . . . . ' But they were decadent creatures, degraded in later era, when the stories of the *Jātaka* verses were set down, to the status of red eyed cannibals.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible as pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy<sup>3</sup> that *Yakshas* after losing their position as tutelary deities came to be classed with the demonical beings influenced no doubt by the prejudices of the sectarian literature.

The word *Yaksha* occurs several times in the *Ṛig Veda*, *Atharva Veda*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upanishads*. Hillebrandt<sup>4</sup> finds the earliest meaning "magician, uncouth being, unseen spiritual enemy etc.", then simply a "supernatural being of exalted character", and finally *Yaksha* in the ordinary sense. Dr. A. B. Keith in a communication to Dr. Coomaraswamy suggested the derivation of the word from the root *yaj*, to worship; Hillebrandt suggests connection with Vedic *Yaksh* in *pra-yaksh*, to honour. It may be as pointed out by Dr. Coomaraswamy that the word and concept may be non-Aryan.<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Coomaraswamy after discussing some references in Vedic literature comes to the conclusion that Vedic literature shows a dual attitude towards *Yakshas*—one of fear and distrust, as found in the *Ṛig Veda* which is natural because of the Aryan distrust of the non-Aryan gods, and the second, that of high respect as found in the *Atharva Veda* and the *Upanishads*. He is of the opinion

1. *Yakshas*, Part I & II, Washington, 1927 & 1931.

2. *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, 262.

3. *Yakshas*, I, 4.

4. Hillebrandt, A., *Vedisch Yaksha*, in *Festgabe Richard Garbe*, Erlangen, 1927.

5. *Yaksha*, II, p. 1.



that the Tree of Life and the Waters symbolising life in Vedic literature may be connected with the Yaksha cult, for Yakshas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetative sources of life, the *rasa*, and thus closely connected with the waters.

In the *Atharva Veda*, (X, 7,38), Varuṇa, or Prajāpati is designated as a great Yaksha reclining on the waters, which bestows upon him great divinity and power. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has quoted a large number of passages from the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* to show how Brahman and Yaksha are synonymous. This approximation of Brahman with Yaksha still lives in modern cult of Bīras and Brahmas prevalent in many parts of the country.

Dr. V. S. Agarwala in his very interesting article on *Gāhā aur Palhāyā*,<sup>6</sup> a kind of folk-song in the form of riddles in Western U.P. has thrown interesting light on ancient Yaksha cult. These old *gāhā* and *palhāyā* songs, now known as *malhors*, have for their progenitor the *Kuntāpa Sūkta* of the *Atharva Veda* (XX, 127-136), forming an appendix. These songs were of several classes such as *Aitāsapralāpa*, *pravahlikā*, *ājijñāsenyā* (whose meaning ended in riddle), *pratirādha* and *āhanasyā* (obscene songs). Some of the Vedic hymns after the manner of *malhor* songs are in the form of questions and answers. The eighteen *mantras* of the *Yajurveda*, (XXXII, 9,45 etc.) are known as *Brahmodya*. According to Dr. V. S. Agarwala, Brahman here is synonymous with Yaksha. The *mantra* of A.V.X,2, 28-33, definitely mentions a Yaksha named Brahma dwelling in the body. This idea is repeated in the *Śāntiparvan* (Moksha-dharma, 171, 52). It seems, therefore, possible that the Vedic *Brahmodya* or riddles later on came to be known as *Yaksha-praśna*. As a matter of fact, an important item in Yaksha cult was solving the riddles. The best example of Yaksha riddles are found in the questions and answers of the Yaksha and Yudhishṭhira in the *Vanaparvan*, 297. It is significant to note that even now when a man or woman is possessed by a Bira or Brahma questions are put to him or her.

We have already pointed out that at least in ancient Buddhist literature Yaksha was not a depreciative term. But in the *Jātaka* stories Yakshas had lost their benevolent character. They are constantly held in dread. They are said to be recognizable by their unwinking eyes, absence of shadow, cruelty, immense size and tusks, etc. They lived on the flesh of men and beasts and haunted deserts, forests, trees and waters. Yakshinis attracted people by

6. *Janapada*, I, No. 2 (Jan. 1953), pp. 70-74.



their beauty, odour and music. Yakshas were also supposed to poison men.<sup>7</sup>

Yakshas in the Jātakas are usually associated with trees which received the homage of the people. Offerings to them include human flesh. They were also consulted as oracles and expected to grant children, fame and wealth to their devotees. They injured those who injured their tree abodes, but were pleased with garlands, lamps and *bali* offerings. In the worship of a banyan tree, goats, cocks, pigs, etc. were sacrificed. At times the decapitated parts of the human body were hung to the tree and its trunk marked with the hand impressions dipped in the blood of the victim. Their cannibalistic character is emphasised in a Jātaka story (J.III, 201,203) in which Yaksha Makhadeva is supposed to have devoured men who visited his habitation. Once the King of Benaras was caught by him and released only on the promise that he would provide him with a plate of rice every day. Sutana, however persuaded him to leave his forest abode and settle at the city gate where he could get best rice. Accordingly he was settled at the city gate of Banaras.

The Jain literature also refers to the dual personality of Yakshas, benevolent and malevolent. We are informed that by practising self restraint<sup>8</sup> one is born as Yaksha. They paid respect to celibates<sup>9</sup> and guarded the sages.<sup>10</sup> The horse-faced Yaksha Selaga in *Nāyādhamma Kahā*, IX, is said to have helped people on the 4th, the 8th and the 15th days of the fortnight and rescued the people in distress. Women worshipped them to obtain the gift of a son. The role of Yakshas as a fertility spirit is emphasised in the *Vivāgasūya*.<sup>11</sup> It is said that Gaṅgadattā, taking flowers, scents, garlands and ornaments and accompanied by her friends, went to the temple of Yaksha Umbaradatta. There she, after cleaning the image with a peacock-feather brush, sprinkled it with water, wiped it with a piece of woollen cloth and after worshipping him prayed for the gift of a son. At another place,<sup>12</sup> a woman named Subhaddā is said to have taken a vow to sacrifice hundred buffaloes to Yaksha Surambara if she were blessed with a son. The role of Yakshas as removers of epidemics is not forgotten. It is said at one place<sup>13</sup> that Māṇibhadda whose temple was situated outside the town of Samilla was a beneficent deity. When the epidemic of

7. R. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp. 324-26.

8. *Uttarādhyana Sūtra*, III, 14 ff.

9. *Ib.*, XVI, 16.

10. *Āvaśyaka Nir.* p. 487.

11. *Vivāgasūya*, VII, p. 42.

12. *Āvaśyakachūṛṇi*, II, p. 193.

13. *Piṇḍa Nirvṛkti*, 245 ff.



small-pox broke out in the city, in answer to the prayers of the people, he stopped it. As a token of gratitude the citizens besmeared his temple with cow-dung on every eighth day of the fortnight.

Yakshas in Jain literature are, however, not always benevolent creatures and at times in their anger killed people. Śūlapāṇi Yaksha was such a great killer<sup>14</sup> of the travellers who stayed in his temple that his temple appeared to have been built on the heap of bones of his victims. Yaksha Surapriya is said to have killed the painter of his temple every year.<sup>15</sup>

We have already seen how Yakshas possessed the people. Jain literature refers to this several times. At one place it is pointed out that the Yaksha-grahas possessed the people.<sup>16</sup> At another place<sup>17</sup> it is said that a banker had two wives; one he loved but hated the other. The hated one after her death turned a Yakshiṇī and possessed the co-wife. An ill treated servant after his death is said to have possessed his master.<sup>18</sup> When possessed by Yakshas, men sometime performed valorous deeds. Thus one Arjuna<sup>19</sup> when possessed by a Yaksha killed six gangsters with his mace.

We have already pointed out above that Yakshas were supposed to answer the questions put to them through the medium. It is said that Ghaṇṭika Yaksha, the family deity of the Dombis, whispered answers to their questions in their ears.<sup>20</sup> The function of Ghaṇṭika Yaksha is further referred to in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It is said that a doorkeeper of Vaiśālī after his death became a Yaksha. He advised the people of Vaiśālī to build a Yaksha temple (*Yaksha-sthāna*) and to hang a bell round the neck of the image. It was supposed that if an enemy entered the town the bell began tolling with the result that either he fled or was arrested.<sup>21</sup> A similar story in the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>22</sup> informs us that a customs officer on the border of Rājagriha and Champā after his death became a Yaksha. He asked his son in a dream to build a temple (*Yaksha-sthāna*) for him and hang a bell there which would toll if somebody tried to evade the customs duty. That such a Yaksha did exist in the belief of the people is supported by an image datable to the 3rd century A.D. This image with human body and

14. *Āvaśyaka Chūrṇi*, pp. 272-74.

15. *Ib.* p. 87 ff.

16. *Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti*, p. 120.

17. *Bṛihat Kalpasūtra Bhāṣya*, 6250.

18. *Ib.* 6260.

19. *Antagadadasāo*, 6.

20. *Bṛi. Kalpa*, 1312.

21. *Gilgit Texts*, III, 2, pp. 11-12.

22. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 275-277.



the head of a bull and a big bell round its neck has been identified as that of Nandī, vehicle of Śiva, though its Yaksha characteristic such as protruding belly is clear.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it may be identified as Ghaṇṭika Yaksha of Buddhist and Jain literature.

Yakshas by their names or class are familiar to the Epics. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, III 11, 94, the gods are said to bestow *Yakshattva* (spirithood) and *amṛitattva* (immortality). The *Mahābhārata*, VI, 41,49, classifies men of *Rājasika* class as Yakshas. In the *Sabhāparvan*, 10, 1-23, Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera is shown as seated in his mountain abode in the company of Apsarases, Gandharvas. Kin-naras, Mānibhadra, etc. The appellations of some Yakshas are Piśācha, 'Demon', Gajakarṇa, 'Elephant-eared', Viśālaka 'Gigantic', Varāhakarṇa, 'Pig-eared', Sāndroshṭha, 'Thick-lipped', Phalabhaksha 'Fruit-eater', Śikhāvarta 'Loose-locked', Hema-netra, 'Yellow-eyed', Vibhīṣhaṇa, 'Fierce', Pushpānana, 'Flower-faced', Piṅgalaka 'Tawny', Pravālaka 'Red', Vrikshvāśī, 'Dweller in trees', Aniketa 'Homeless', Chīra-vāsa, 'Clothed', etc. Some of them were of dwarfish size, some hunchbacked, some red-eyed, and some very swift. They fed on meat and fat and were fierce to look at and hear.

From the above accounts of Yakshas in Buddhist, Jain and Hindu literature, the following points are clear, namely—(1) Yakshas were benevolent or malevolent creatures, (2) they were propitiated by *pūjā* and had their regular places of worship, and (3) that they possessed the people and answered to their queries. In these characteristics of Yakshas second and third points require further clarification.

The haunt or abode of a Yaksha, often referred to as a *chaitya*, *āyatana* or *sthāna* may be in a grove, on a mountain or a *ghāt*, by a tank, in a desert or at the city gate, within a city or even within a palace.<sup>24</sup> The essential element of a Yaksha holystead is a stone table or altar placed beneath the tree sacred to the Yaksha. The *bhavanam* of Yaksha Suchiloma at Gayā was a stone slab (*ṭāṅkita-māñcho*) resting on four other stones.<sup>25</sup> This slab was an essential element in the Yaksha holystead which later on gave place to somewhat elaborate temples. As we will see later on, simple platforms with or without stone slabs serve as a holystead for Birs and Brahmas who are the modern counterparts of Yakshas.

In early Indian stone reliefs of Bharhut and Sāncī, the *Yaksha-sthāna* is generally a stone slab placed on a brick platform under a

23. H. N. Dvivedī, *Gwalior me murtikalā*, Figs. 22-2, p. 24, Gwalior.

24. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, I, p. 17.

25. *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 264.



tree. Of these the following variations may be noted in Bharhut reliefs—(1) stone slabs on brick platforms under the trees,<sup>26</sup> (2) four-legged stone slab under a tree,<sup>27</sup> (3) four-legged stool under a tree,<sup>28</sup> (4) stone slab in the form of a chair under a tree fenced with a stone railing,<sup>29</sup> (5) a stone slab with an umbrella.<sup>30</sup> At Sanchi, however, the slab on a platform under the tree is usually plain. It is interesting to note that in the Jain art of Mathurā the Āyāga-paṭas or the tablet of Homage or Worship figuring the Jinas and various auspicious symbols show a further stage in the development of the ancient *Yaksha-sthāna*, appropriated by the Jainas in the early centuries of the Christian era for their own purpose of religious edification.

But at least from the second century B.C. to second century A.D. there are many references to Yaksha shrines in art and literature. The temple of Pūrṇabhadra at Champā was such a structure of certain pretensions.<sup>31</sup>

The *Aupapātika sūtra* informs us that it was an old, rich and a well-known shrine, decorated with umbrellas, bells, banners and flags and provided with brushes. It was provided with daises (*veyaḍḍhi*), coated with cowdung and bore impressions of the palm dipped in red and yellow sandal. It had well-fashioned arches on which ritual pitchers rested. Inside were scattered bunches of sweet-smelling flowers of five colours, and incense of all kinds released their fragrant smoke. It was thronged by the crowds of jesters, dancers, acrobats musicians, story tellers, ballad reciters, etc. The shrine was encompassed round about by a great wood in which in a clearing stood an Aśoka-tree under which somewhat close to the trunk was a dais of earthen blocks. The black stone slab shaped like a throne was eight-cornered and was decorated with animal and floral designs.

In the above description of Pūrṇabhadra's shrine we are informed that it was a structural building which had the diases inside, provided with doors and an enclosing wall. The daises bore the palm impressions dipped in sandal. The second point to be noted is the simple dais shaped like a throne beneath the Aśokan tree which conforms to one of the forms of the Yaksha holysteads as depicted in the Bharhut reliefs. As regards the regular Yaksha

26. Barua, *Bharhut*, Pl. XX, 16 a-b.

27. *Ib.* Pl. XXXV, 26, 28.

28. *Ib.* Pl. XXXVI, 30.

29. *Ib.* Pl. XLVI, 46; Pl. XLVII, 47; Pl. XLVIII, 48.

30. *Ib.* Pl. I, IV, 56.

31. *Antagaḍa Dasāo* (tr. by L. B. Barnett), p. 13. *Aupapātika Sūtra*, p. 3.

32. Barua, *loc. cit.*, III, Pl. XXII, 17 h; Pl. XXXVII, 32.



shrine as described above, there are numerous examples in the bas-reliefs of Bahrhut, Sānchī and Amarāvati. At Bahrhut this structure has several forms. One type of shrine has a barrel-shaped dome provided with finials, arched windows and a railing, pillars and enclosures. The eight-legged dais is between with flowers and provided with two *triratna* symbols. The crowds of worshippers, dancers and musicians show the popularity of the shrine. In a second type,<sup>33</sup> inside the shrine, the simple dais bears the floral offering and is decorated with the palm impressions. In a third type,<sup>34</sup> the shrine is a simple domed structure enclosed with a railing and the dais holding the turban of the Buddha is decorated with hand impressions. In a fourth type,<sup>35</sup> the shrine has a barrel-shaped roof provided with finials, arch shaped windows, pillars and railings. The daises inside bear floral offerings and are decorated with palm impressions.

At Sānchī as well Yaksha shrines are represented. At one place the shrine is a barrel-roof structure resting on pillars and provided with arched windows and a railing.<sup>36</sup> Inside, on the dais, may be seen three *triratna* symbols, outside may be seen a *rājā* and his queen with women attendants. The presence of wine pitchers, may indicate the offering of wine to Yakshas. A simple domed structure with a railing enclosure also appears.<sup>37</sup> It was at times like semi-artificial hypogeum as we see in the visit of Buddha to Indrasāla Guhā.<sup>38</sup> At Amarāvati a several storied shrine has a barrel-shaped roof and is provided with a series of rich windows and railings.<sup>39</sup>

As pointed by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy,<sup>40</sup> Yaksha Chaityas were frequently used as resting places for travellers and many Buddhist and Jain monks found shelter there. Festivals were also celebrated in honour of Yakshas. It is mentioned that at Mathurā people went to the pilgrimage of Bhaṇḍira Yaksha, and the citizens of Broach celebrated the festival of Kuṇḍalameṇṭha.<sup>41</sup> According to the *Kāma-sūtra*, IV, 72, *Yaksha-rātri* or modern Divāli, was specially sacred to Yakshas and on that night people gambled.

Offerings (*bali*) to Yakshas are mentioned in the *Grihya sūtras*. The *Mahābhārata* says that they were pleased with flowers. They were fond of incense, spirituous drinks and meat. Manu, XI, 96, says that meat and intoxicating drinks are the food of Yakshas. The

33. *Ib.* XLI, 37.

34. *Ib.* Pl. XLII.

35. *Ib.* XLIV, 42.

36. Marshall, *Sanchi*, Pl. XVIII b.

37. *Ib.* Pl. XXXIV, a.

38. *Ib.* Pl. XXXV, b.

39. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati sculptures*, Pl. X V, 1.

40. *Yakṣas*, I, p. 23.

41. Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 222.



*Bṛihat-kathā Śloka Saṁgraha*, XIII, 3-5, mentions that Yakshas were worshipped with flowers and wine which was then drunk by the devotees. Yaksha temples were visited with offerings and truthfulness of the mind. They were the places of miracles which means that the people were possessed there and answered to the questions asked from them.

So deeply rooted was the belief in Yakshas and their power to possess, that the Hindu science of medicine has devoted a special section on Yaksha Grahās and offerings made to them for the cure of the patients. The *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, LX, 6-22, says that those possessed by Yaksha Grahās had red eyes, were partial to wearing thin red garments, and possessed vigour and fortitude. They repeated offers for granting boons or gifts to those near them. Besides, they were restive, taciturn, and grave. Yaksha Grahās were supposed to possess their victims on the first day of the fortnight. They entered the bodies of their victims unseen. It is further observed that even as *grahās* they had a certain degree of virtue. They themselves did not attack human beings; this was done by millions of their fierce looking, bloodthirsty followers, who, moving in the night, possessed their victims. It is further observed that the muttering of *mantras* and offerings propitiated them. Offerings of red flowers, red scents (such as red sandal, saffron, etc.), rape-seed, barley, honey, *ghi* and all sorts of food pleased them. Clothes, wine, blood, meat and milk were offered to them according to their liking. Special offerings of the cakes made of boiled *māsha*, blood and wine were made to Yakshas on their appointed days, inside the house.

The *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, XIV, 22, while dealing with *Yakshon-māda* mentions that the patients possessed by Yakshas were always drowsy. They wept or laughed and had red eyes. They showed their fondness for dancing, music and stories, and liked good food and drinks, bathing, flower garlands, incense and perfumes. They were abusive to Brāhmaṇs and doctors and were prone to speak mysteriously.

Both the texts cited above give some conception of Yakshas. A Yaksha in popular fancy was supposed to be red-eyed, powerful creature fond of music and dancing. He had a partiality for red garments and liked good food and drinks, flowers, perfumes and incense. He was himself not an evil creature but his blood thirsty nocturnal followers possessed the men. Red flowers, red scent, rape seed, barley, honey, *ghi*, clothes, meat and blood, milk and cakes were used in his worship.



From the above account of Yaksha temples and *pūjā*, it is clear that it was a *bhakti* cult, which was not a prerogative of the Vaishnavas only but a general tendency in some centuries preceding the Christian era. Not only Vāsudeva is styled as Bhāgavata but also the Regent of Quarters who include Kubera and the Buddha himself. The Pawāyān image of the great Yaksha Māṇibhadra has a dedicatory inscription<sup>42</sup> in which the deity himself is styled Bhagavā and the members of the *goshṭha* (corporation) for whom the image was set up call themselves as *Māṇibhadrabhaktas*. There is little doubt that Yaksha cult with its images and rituals had much to do with the development of Buddha's image and cult.

Attention of readers may also be drawn to Yakshiṇī cult which had a wide prevalence in ancient and medieval India. These goddesses, generally associated with trees, were worshipped by those desiring children. Such was the wide spread belief in Yakshiṇīs that the Woman and Tree motive in early Indian art became very common. In this motive scantily-clothed female figures are noted for their appropriate vehicles. Very often they hold with one hand a branch of the tree under which they stand. At times their one leg is entwined round the stem of the tree. Sometimes one foot is raised and rests against the trunk of the tree. Occasionally children are associated with her. From this Woman and Tree motive were derived the Buddha Nativity, the Aśoka tree *dohada* motif in classical Sanskrit literature, the *śālabhañjikā* motive and the so-called river goddess motive of the medieval shrines.

The names of a large number of Yakshas including those of Kubera, their overlord, and Māṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra are mentioned in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit literature. However, comparatively a fewer number of Yakshiṇīs are mentioned, though it is beyond doubt that they were extensively worshipped in part as beneficent, in part as malevolent beings. In the latter aspect they do not differ essentially from the mother goddess such as Mātās, Joginīs and Dākinīs of the present day.

The Buddhist and Pauranic literature bear testimony as to how the cult of Yaksha and Yakshiṇīs was being supplanted in the early centuries of the Christian era. We are informed that the Buddha during his tour of Kashmīr converted Nālī and Udaryā Yakshiṇīs at Nandivardhana and Yakshiṇī Kuntī, who devoured the born and unborn children of the people<sup>43</sup> at Kuntingagara. During his visit to Mathurā, the presiding goddess of Mathurā, possibly a Yakshiṇī

42. A. S. R., Re. 1915-16.

43. Gilgit Texts, III, I, p. 1.



is said to have appeared quite naked before him, and he put her to shame by asserting that her attitude was not proper for a decent woman.<sup>44</sup> He is also said to have pacified Gardabha Yaksha who devoured children, and the Yakshas Śara and Vana and Yakshṇis Ālikā, Bendā, Maghā and Timisikā (probably Artemis). In all he pacified 3,500 Yakshas within and outside Mathurā.<sup>45</sup>

The story of the displacement of Yaksha worship from Banaras by Śaivism shows how in the early centuries of the Christian era the assimilation and synthesis of the ancient Yaksha cult within the fold of Śaivism was in progress. The archaeological and literary evidences point out that before the Gupta period Banaras was a seat of Yaksha and Nāga cults, though it is possible that Śiva might have been counted as one of the Yakshas, as the *Mahāmāyūrī*<sup>46</sup> in its list of Yakshas indicates Śiva Mahākāla as the presiding deity of Banaras. The story of the expulsion of Yaksha cult from Banaras by the growing forces of Śaivism is given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chap. 180. It is related that Harikeśa Yaksha, son of Pūrṇabhadra, was a great devotee of Śiva. This incensed his father who threatened to turn him out from his house as his character did not bethove to that of Yakshas who by nature were cruel and fond of meat. Harikeśa refused to accept the advice of his father, and, therefore, was forced to migrate to Banaras where he continued to worship Śiva for a millennium. Pleased at his devotion, Śiva told him to ask for a boon. He asked the Lord to permit him to settle in the city for ever. Śiva accepted his request and appointed him the Kshetra-pāla of Banaras with his assistants Tryaksha, Daṇḍapāṇi, Udbhrama and Sambhrama Yakshas. How Śaivism at Banaras had taken many Yakshas within its fold is further related in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, 183, 63,66. It is said that Yakshas like Vināyaka, Kūsh-māṇḍa, Gajatuṇḍa, Jayanata, Madotkaṭa, etc. enrolled themselves as the gaṇas of Śiva. Some had contorted bodies and some were dwarf or hunch-backed. The other Yakshas converted to Śaivism were Nandī, Mahākāla, Chaṇḍaghaṇṭa, Maheśvara, Daṇḍachaṇḍeśvara and Ghaṇṭākaraṇa, who had pendulous bellies and armed with lances and *vajras* kept watch over the city.

The above story reveals two facts namely—(1) Harikeśa Yaksha, son of Pūrṇabhadra, was worshipped at Banaras, and that (2) Śiva worship, at the time when the *Matsya Purāṇa* was compiled, existed in the city side by side with Yaksha worship. It seems possible that the rivalry between Śaivism and Yaksha cult in the city continued for a long time, till the former absorbed the latter, and the local

44. *Ib.*, p. 14.

45. *Ib.*, p. 15-17.

46. *J. U. P. H. S.*, XV, 2, p. 27.



Yakshas found asylum in Śaivism as attendants of Śiva. Such was the dominance of Śaivism at Banaras in the Gupta period that as related by the *Matsya Purāṇa*, 180, 62, even Mahāyaksha Kubera giving up his nature was raised to the position of Gaṇeśa, and Mudgarapāṇi, enrolling himself in the service of Śiva, began acting as doorkeeper of the citizens of Banaras.

It is significant to note here that though the ancient Yaksha cult was uprooted from Banaras, its remnants as we shall see later on, still continue in the lower ranks of the society. Even Harikeśa Yaksha under the name of Harasū Baram is being worshipped at Kachhwā-Majhwā near Banaras; vows are taken in his name and he still possesses men and women through whom he professes to tell the events of the past and future, and effects cures of men and women possessed by ghosts.

In the story of Hārītī as well, it is apparent as to how a malevolent Yakshiṇī supposed to have devoured children was converted to Buddhism and became the patron goddess of children.<sup>47</sup> This Yakshiṇī devoured the children of Rājagriha and no amount of *pūjā* would please her. The Buddha took recourse to a stratagem to subdue her. To teach her a lesson he hid her child. Unable to find her child, she became disconsolate. Then the Buddha pointed out to her the moral of the incident. After converting her, he restored the child and promised that offering of food would be made to her daily in the monasteries, of which she became the protectress. As pointed out by M. Foucher (*Sur la frontiere Indo-Afghane*, pp. 194-197) the cult of Hārītī still survives amongst the Muhammadans of the North-West.

Such was the deeply rooted belief in Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs that elaborate rituals have been prescribed by the Tantras for their invocation. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, a Bhāgavata text of the Gupta period, prescribes rituals for Yakshiṇī *Sādhana*.<sup>48</sup> The devotee, as a preliminary step, drew the portrait of a very beautiful Yakshiṇī adorned with garments and ornaments, on silk. After keeping fast, at midnight incense was burnt before the *paṭa*. On the seventh night, the Yakshiṇī tearing asunder the *paṭa* revealed herself to the devotee and asked him whether he wanted to treat her as a mother, sister or wife. In the form of a mother, she gave him whatever he wanted and as a sister she bestowed upon him treasure. She carried him to heaven or the nether world, and gave him celestial drugs and all sorts of *rasas*. At another place, it is

47. B. E. F. E. O., XVII, III, 1917.

48. *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, 77-85, Baroda, 1931.



said that Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs inhabiting the trees could be controlled by applying the magical collyrium to the eyes.<sup>49</sup>

Important information about the Yaksha cult is also available in the *Majusūrimūlakalpa*.<sup>50</sup> It gives the following list of *Mahā-Yakshiṇīs*:—(1) Sulochanā, (2) Subhrū (3) Susvarā, (4) Sumatī, (5) Vasumatī, (6) Chitrākshī, (7) Pūrāśā, (8) Suguhyakā, (9) Mekhalā, (10) Sumekhalā, (11) Padmochchā, (12) Abhayā, (13) Jayā, (14) Vijayā, (15) Revatikā, (16) Keśinī, (17) Keśāntā, (18) Anilā, (19) Manoharā, (20) Manovatī, (21) Kusumāvati, (22) Kusumapuravāsini, (23) Piṅgalā, (24) Hārītī, (25) Vīramatī, (26) Virā, (27) Suvīrā, (28) Ghorā, (29) Ghoravatī, (30) Surasundarī, (31) Surasā, (32) Guhyottamārī, (33) Vaṭavāsini, (34) Aśokā, (35) Andhāra Sundarī, (36) Prabhāvati, (37) Atiśayavatī, (38) Rūpavatī, (39) Surūpā, (40), Asitā, (41) Saumyā, (42) Kāpā, (43) Menā, (44) Nandinī, (45) Upanandinī, (46) Lokāntarā. A careful study of this list reveals to us that most of the names are adjectival and they extol the beauty of the Yakshiṇīs—their eyes, their eye brows, their hair, their love of flowers, etc. A second set of names proves the superiority of their intellect, their courage, their richness, their pleasant nature, etc. A third set points to their association with trees such as the Vaṭa and Aśoka. It is remarkable, however, that a fourth set points to their dark complexion, cruel nature and physical deformity. Apparently these two sets of ideas express the benevolent and malevolent aspects of Yakshiṇīs.

We are given some curious information about the speech and residence of Yakshas. They spoke the dialects of Vaṅga, Samataṭa and the North.<sup>51</sup> They also spoke Māgadhī.<sup>52</sup> Pāñchika, Hārītī and Jambhala could be propitiated in Vaṅga,<sup>53</sup> while the favour of Kubera could be gained in the West. There is little doubt that these geographical references point to the prevalence of Yaksha cult in various parts of India.

For Yakshiṇī *Sādhana*, the sacrificial offering of Aśoka flowers to the fire after muttering the name of the Yakshiṇī whom the devotee wanted to attain is enjoined. She came to the devotee within one to seven weeks, and treated him like mother, sister or wife.<sup>53</sup> For controlling Yakshas, however, one was expected to offer oblation to the fire with rice and curds, lasting for three months. On the last day the wood of Vaṭa, curds, honey and *ghī* formed the

49. *Ib.*, pp. 98-127.

50. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*, p. 233.

51. *Ib.* p. 331.

52. *Ib.* p. 325.

53. *Ib.* p. 327.



ingredients of fire offering. After the completion of the rite came Kubera and others inquiring often the wish of the sacrificer. They were to be told to send a Yaksha daily who was expected to provide him with a woman every day. He also carried him on his back to whatever place he desired to go, and gave him nectar.<sup>55</sup> Yakshas are said to be attracted by incense and the Yakshiṇīs by the fire of Aśoka wood.<sup>56</sup>

The description of the Yakshiṇīs like Naṭā, Naṭṭā, Bhaṭṭā, Revatī, Tamasurī, Lokā, Mekhalā, Sumekhalā, etc., are specially interesting. To bring Naṭī under control, her portrait was drawn on a wooden panel and the devotee subsisting on milk or meat chanted the *mantra* eight thousand times. Then she, wearing all kinds of ornaments, resting against a tree, wearing only one garment, with dishevelled hair, red eyes, smiling and threatening the *Sādhaka* with the right hand, and holding the branch of the tree with the left hand, appeared. If the devotee wanted her to be his wife, she carried him to her home and gave him nectar which made him immortal. Naṭṭā is said to have been draped in white and highly sexed. Bhaṭṭā could be brought under control even without a *paṭa*, only with the help of a magical circle and incense. Accepted as wife, she carried out his desires and gave him long-life and nectar. Revatī, called a great Yakshiṇī, was highly sexed. She curled her hair with the cloth dyed in light red. She was a real beauty and gave perpetual enjoyment to her devotee.<sup>57</sup> Mekhalā, Sumekhalā and Ālokinī were also attained in the same way. Tamasundarī was attained by painting her portrait and then repeating the *mantra* ten thousand times on the full moon day. This practice continued for one month. On the next full moon day, the devotee was expected to sleep after applying the rape-seed oil to his body and washing his hands and feet. The Yakshiṇī visited him at midnight but was attained after six months. She satisfied all his desires, gave him nectar, carried him on her back and destroyed his enemies. She was the queen of many Yakshiṇīs.<sup>58</sup>

According to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* again, there were other Yakshiṇīs such as Andhakāravāsini, Guhāvāsini, Naravirā, Kumārī, Vadhū Yakshiṇī, Manojñā and Surasundarī who were compassionate beings. To attain Guhāvāsini, Priyaṅgu flowers were offered to the sacred fire made of catechu wood. Her portrait was drawn on a wooden panel, silk or wall. At first a cave on Sumeru mountain

54. *Ib.* p. 297.

55. *Ib.* p. 293-94.

56. *Ib.* p. 297.

57. *Ib.* pp. 565-566.

58. *Ib.* p. 567.



was drawn, inside which she was portrayed. After worship, she appeared in the form of a mother and gave the devotee food and clothing, built his house, gave him nectar, presented to him a thousand *muhars* daily and helped him everywhere.<sup>59</sup> Naravīrā's portrait was drawn on silk resting against the Aśoka tree. She was obtained in the same way as Guhāvāsini and behaved as a sister.<sup>60</sup> Yakshakumārikā's portrait was drawn on birch bark with *goro-ghanā*. She held a citron fruit in her right hand and with her left hand she held a branch of the Aśoka tree. She acted as mother, sister or wife of the devotee. As a mother, she provided him with food and clothing and a thousand *dīnāras* daily; in the form of a sister she brought to him a wife from long distances, and as a wife she bestowed upon him long life.<sup>61</sup> Vadhū Yakshiṇī conferred on the devotee thousand *muhars* daily, which had to be spent. If her secret was revealed she never returned.<sup>62</sup> Manojñā was obtainable by performing the magical rites in a hut built under an Aśoka tree. A garment was put outside which she wore; while departing she tied a *muhar* in the garment.<sup>63</sup> Surasundarī was obtainable after six months devotion and gave to the devotee a valuable necklace. Jayā and Pramodā also conferred wealth, etc. on the devotee.<sup>64</sup>

From the account of the Yakshiṇī cult as given above, the following points come to light. They were usually handsome creatures associated with trees. They acted as a mother, a sister or a wife of the devotee. They fulfilled the wishes of the devotees, provided him with food and clothing, gold and other forms of wealth, and nectar which made him immortal, conferred on him long life, provided him with women and carried him on their back everywhere.

The belief that Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs provided food and drinks to their devotees is supported by early Indian art as well. At Bharhut and Bodha Gayā,<sup>65</sup> in the story of the Treasurer and the Tree Spirit, a Yaksha is shown holding forth his hand carrying a food bowl and an ewer. At Sāncī,<sup>66</sup> the goddess Śrī-Lakshmi accompanied by two attendants carrying food and drinks expresses the same idea of Yakshas providing food and drinks. Several reliefs from Mathurā and Amarāvati depict Yakshiṇīs carrying food and drinks.<sup>67</sup>

59. *Ib.* pp. 567-68.

60. *Ib.* pp. 568-69.

61. *Ib.* pp. 568-69.

62. *Ib.* 570.

63. *Ib.* pp. 570-71.

64. *Ib.* 573-74.

65. *Yakṣas*, II, Pl. 25, Figs. 1, 3.

66. Marshall, *Sāncī*, Pl. LXXVIII, 22 d.

67. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, II, Pl. II, 3; Pl. XVIII, 3; Pl. XIX, 1.



The second idea associated with Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs is that they were dispensers of gold and treasures. It is well known that Kubera is the lord of wealth and therefore his followers are also associated as dispensers and guardians of wealth. This association of the Yaksha cult with treasures is amply elaborated in ancient art. The well known Kalpavṛksha capital of a *dhvaja stambha* is shaped like a banyan, with a pot and two bags overflowing with money and a lotus flower and a conch signifying the *nidhi* of Kubera between the hanging aerial roots. Many images of Kubera, specially from Mathurā, are shown carrying the money purse. In some of the clay seals from Basārḥ, Gaja Lakshmī whose connection with the Yaksha cult is clear, is shown accompanied by two Yaksha attendants, holding money bags.<sup>68</sup> In another class of seals, Gaja Lakshmī with attendants throwing out money from the bags is shown.<sup>69</sup> In one of the Bhīṭā seals,<sup>70</sup> Lakshmī is shown in association with two money bags. In one of the Gupta seals from Rāj-ghāṭ, Banaras,<sup>71</sup> the goddess is herself showering coins.

So far we have tried to throw light on Yaksha cult in ancient India. Right up from the Gupta period to the 12th century, however, the Yaksha cult, ousted from its former position by Hinduism continued to flourish as a folk religion, which, however, kept alive many features of the ancient cult. According to the *Kathā Sarit-sāgara*, LXXIII, Yakshas had their feet on the wrong way and they partook meat and drinks. A beautiful Yakshiṇī is said to have given food and drink to Śrīdarśana, which was carried to him by a Yaksha. The (*Ib.*, CV 57) offerings in Yaksha worship consisted of wine, flesh and other dainties. In the story of Śubhadatta (*Ib.*, LVII, 27-47), it is said that Yakshas possessed an inexhaustible pitcher (*bhadra-ghaṭa*),<sup>72</sup> which supplied all kinds of food and drinks. Yakshas are supposed to have inhabited trees, specially the banyan. The Brahman Somadatta seeing a banyan tree in a forest clearing took a vow to remain faithful to the Tree Spirit. Though his crops were plundered, he persisted in his faith, till one night the Yaksha inhabiting the tree appeared and asked him to carry his message to the king of Śrīkaṇṭha.<sup>73</sup> In another story (*Ib.*, XXXI, 205-215), a gambler named Devadatta under instructions from one Jālapāda visited the cemetery and worshipped the banyan tree there every night with rice-pudding, a part of which was flung to the four cardinal points. One day, the tree

68. A. S. R., Ann. Rep. 1903-04, p. 107.

69. *Ib.* No. 6, p. 107; Pl. XI, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.

70. A. S. R., Ann. Rep., 1911-12, No. 42.

71. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 213-14.

72. See also *Yakṣas*, II, pp. 61ff.

73. *Ib.*, XX, 22-37.



cleft opened and he met Yakshiñī Ratnaprabhā. Yakshas seem to have infested public tanks visited by the people.<sup>74</sup>

According to the K.S. VII, 35-37, Rākshsas, Yakshas and Piśāchās have no power in the day, being dazed with the brightness of the sun, and, therefore, they delight to move out in the night. They did not attack holy men, heroes, men wide awake and those who abstained from meat and wine. One Nishchayadatta (K.S. XXXVI) is said to have charmed a Yakshiñī and forced her to carry him through the air, as she had no power in the sun-light. In the *Deśopadeśa*, VIII, 14 of Kshemendra, a merchant is compared with a nocturnal Yaksha.

According to the K.S., XXV, 82-88, Yakshas at times tested the courage of the people. It is said that when a lad threw the magical powder to transmute the melting copper to gold, an invisible Yaksha carried it off. This he did twice, till the courageous King took it and threw and then the Yaksha did not interfere.

Yakshas as guardians of treasures are referred to at many places in medieval literature. At one place in K.S., XVIII, 41-43, it is said that when Udayana dug up for treasure a huge Yaksha arose and told him that so far as he had guarded the treasure buried by his forefathers and that he was prepared to hand it over to him. In another story (K.S., XXXIV, 67-74), it is related that once Kubera appointed Virūpāksha as guardian of treasures. He in his turn delegated a Yaksha to guard a treasure lying outside the town of Mathurā. It so happened that a Brahman Pāsupata came to exhume the treasure with the help of a candle made of human fat. The candle fell down where the treasure was buried, and the Brahman knowing its location tried to dig it up with the help of his friend for which he was killed by the Yaksha. In the *Deśopadeśa*, VII, 31, the old man with a young wife is compared with an old Yaksha who, due to his old age, employed a serpent to guard his treasure. Yakshiñīs were, however, supposed to be more amenable beings. It is mentioned at one place in K.S., XXVIII, 65, that Yakshiñīs rained so much gold that they turned a kingdom into a veritable Meru. At another place (K.S., X, 178-179), a Yakshiñī is said to have given to her devotee horses and gold pieces.

Yakshas as guardians of buried treasures recall to mind some gruesome folk tales of northern India, which mention that before the treasures were buried, a man was lured in the cell and after being well fed, buried along with the treasure. This was done in the belief that his spirit would guard the treasures, and save it from marauders.

74. Kshemendra, *Samayamātrikā*, I, 18.



As in ancient times, possession was one of the functions of medieval Yakshas. According to the *Samayamātrikā*, V, 49, a Yaksha adept in the art of returning home, though forced to go refuses to do so. It is mentioned in the *Narmamālā*, II, 91, that a woman taking her bath in an empty house was possessed by Yakshas. Incensed at the superstition and malpractices of the Yaksha cult, Kshemendra exposes the false pretences of the medium. Speaking of Karālī, playing the part of a medium under the name of Bhāvasiddhi<sup>75</sup> he says that when she was possessed by a Devatā, she only repeated 'Offer me gifts' and nothing else. Drawing our attention to the false medium, Kshemendra observes in the *Kalāvīlāsa*, IX, 18, 20, that a rogue talking incoherently, invoking a Yaksha by the foot blows of the people and without the help of charmed incense enjoyed good food and drinks. Here reference to the foot blows shows that as in modern times, people possessed by ghosts were beaten to exorcize the ghost possessing a man or woman. These mischievous Yakshīputras, who indulged in fraudulent incense-burning were the cause of poverty and the dissolution of a kingdom.

A story from the medieval Gujrātī literature also throws some light on Yaksha cult. It is said that once upon a time when Harikeśa muni was performing meditation in a *Yaksha-bhavana* at Banaras, daughter of the king of Banaras spat on him. The Yaksha incensed at her behaviour made her face crooked. She was only cured when she married the hermit. The Yaksha is also said to have made the Brahmans who had insulted Harikeśa to vomit blood (Jinavijaya, *Prāchīna Gūjarātī Gadya Sandarbha*, p. 17, Ahmedabad, Sam. 1986). The story shows that at times Yakshas acted as guardian angels to holy men.

Our attention is also drawn to the practice of Yakshadivya.<sup>76</sup> To establish their innocence, people tried to pass through the thighs of a Yaksha image. This was done after taking bath and worshipping the image with flowers and perfumes, etc.

There are some references to prove that Yaksha temples in medieval times were visited by bad characters such as gamblers and women of loose morals. According to the K.S., LXVI, 61, Yakshas were worshipped for invincibility in disputation, altercation and gambling. We have already referred to the case of the gambler Devadatta worshipping a Yaksha. In the *Kaupūracharita Bhāṇa*<sup>77</sup> by Vatsarāja (c. 1180 A.D.), Mānibhadra is said to give victory in gambling. The gambler was, however, not entirely satisfied by the results and says that the gods troubled their devotees by ex-

75. *Ib.* II 85.

76. *Śukasaptati*, pp. 58-59, ed. by R. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1893.

77. *Rūpaka-Shatka*, 23-24, ed. by C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1918.



acting *pūjā* and rituals which cost them much and resulted only in disappointment. According to the *Śukasaptati*, p. 37, women of loose morals kept tryst in Yaksha temples.

In one of the stories by Taruṇaprabha Sūri (*Prāchīna Gūjarātī Gadya Sandarbha*, p. 17) it is said that a gambler named Nāgila kept fast to propitiate Yaksha Virūpāksha. When he appeared he asked him to put in his possession the magic lamp (*Yaksha-dīpa*), which won for him Nandā and wealth. This reminds us of the story of Alādīn and his lamp.

In modern times, the worship of Yakshas still continues, though, the name Yaksha has been given up, its place being taken by Bīra and Brahma. The cult of Bīras and Brahmas which retain many ancient traits of Yaksha worship is found in some form or other from Bengal to Rājasthān, Maharāshtra, Madhya Pradesh, and the Himalayas. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has recently made a study of this cult as practised at Banaras and other parts of the country.<sup>78</sup> His studies have shown that simple earthen platforms under the trees or even the trees such as *pīpal* and banyan serve as the habitats of Bīras and Brahmas, and that practically all villages in eastern U.P. and Bihar have their own local Bīras and Brahmas, who possess the people and receive the devotion of the village folk.

It would be interesting here to make an inquiry into the origin of Bīra worship. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions Vīra as a Yaksha, and in the list of Mahā-Yakshiṇīs,<sup>79</sup> Viramatī, Virā and Suvirā point to the existence of Bīra cult in ancient India. The epithet *Vīra* meaning powerful applying to Yaksha indicates their power in accomplishing difficult tasks. Dr. Agrawala has quoted a story from the *Devī Bhāgavata* in which it is said that the gods after winning the battle fought with the Asuras became proud of their achievement. Then Brahma assuming the shape of a Yaksha appeared before them. The gods were unable to recognise him. Then Agni, Vāyu and Varuṇa, etc., tried to test his powers but were unsuccessful. Yaksha then told them that their power was nothing as it was he who was the source of all energy. Apparently, this story as well hints that Yakshas were the source of all power.

In his inquiry of Bīra and Brahma cult at Banaras Dr. Agrawala made certain interesting discoveries. For instance, in Hanumat as Mahāvīra, worshipped at Banaras, the Deccan and Central and Northern India, he sees the survival of Bīra cult. Hanumat as is well known was an ally of Rāma against his war with Rāvaṇa. He was held to be the son of Pavana or Māruta, and is said to have

78. *Janapada*, Vol. I, 3 (April, 1953), pp. 64 ff.

79. *Ib.* pp. 20-21.



assumed any form at will, wielded rocks, removed mountains, mounted the air, seized the clouds, and rivalled Garuḍa in swiftness of flight. According to other legends, Hanumat was a son of Śiva. In the attributes of Hanumat, therefore, Yaksha characteristics such as flying through the air, assuming any shape at will, etc. are apparent. In this connection it is also significant to note that in Uttara Pardesh, Divālī, the Yaksha-rātri of the *Kāmasūtra*, is regarded as the birth day of Mahāvīra. On that day he is worshipped with sweet cakes (*roṭa*) and also *laḍḍus* and soaked grams. In the Deccan, *māsha vadās* are offered to him, which recalls to mind one of the Yaksha offerings mentioned by the *Suśruta*, LX, 22. His preference for red lead with which his images are coated, and his love for flowers and perfumes are also Yaksha characteristics. As pointed by Dr. Agrawala the *Vinayapatrikā*, 48, of Tulasidās, by the clever use of a metaphor indicates the salient aspects of Bīra worship in the late 16th century. According to this verse, worship of the Great Vīra results in the fulfilment of one's desires. The devotee initiated in his cult should regularly mutter his Bijamantra. He is to be worshipped with water oblations, sacrificial offerings, *ghī*, and sacrificial wood offered to the fire in his honour. He ruined, subjugated or killed the enemy and gave wealth.

Like the presiding Yakshas of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the medieval Bīras had fifty two *pīṭhas* assigned to them. These fifty Bīras or Bāvan Bīras are often referred in literature. As pointed out by Dr. Agrawala, the list of fifty two Bīras as given in the *Prithvīrāja Rāso* includes certain Bīras whose Yaksha connections are apparent. They are Mānika, Rudra, Samudraratan, Samudrasoka, Indravīra, Jamavīra, Sahasrāṅga, Narasimha, Devāgni, Kshetrapāla, Lohabhaṇjana, etc.

Mānika Bīra in the above list is no doubt the ancient Māṇibhadra whose colossal images have been found from Pawāyan and Parkham near Mathurā. He seems to have been the tutelary god of merchants. He is still being worshipped as Mānik Pīr by the Muslim fishermen of Bengal. This Mānika Bīra in eastern U.P. is worshipped to allay the flood and epidemics.<sup>80</sup> We have already seen how the Jain *Piṇḍaniryukti*, 245 refers to the role of Māṇibhadra as a pacifier of small-pox epidemic at Samilla. In the same way Daundīā Bīra of Banaras seems to have played the same role as Ghaṇṭākarna Yaksha of ancient times. In the Pañchpīra cult also Dr. Agrawala sees the survival of Panchavīras whose earliest mention comes in the *Daśakumāra Charita*. Regular dancing and music seems to have taken place in their honour.

80. Agrawala, loc. cit., p. 68.



## AN EARLY BRONZE IMAGE OF PĀRŚVANĀTHA IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

By Umakant Premanand Shah

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, preserves a rare bronze statuette of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 25, a, b, c.) size, height, 9 inches. It is hollow cast, by *cire perdue* process with a light black core inside. Pārśvanātha stands in the *kāyotsarga* posture, with a canopy of five-hooded cobra. The back shows the body of the cobra running down the entire body of the Jina, in a zigzag way. The cobra-head was possibly attached as a separate piece while its (remaining) body, cast along with the Jina is reminiscent of the applique technique. The same impression is gathered about the eyebrows of the Jina. The right hand of Pārśvanātha as also a part of the cobra's hood; are mutilated.

The most striking feature of the statuette is the modelling of the face—oblong and broad at the temples, narrowing towards the chin, with small but prominent thick lips, a long nose, and elongated big eyes—which remind one of the physiognomy of the bronze statuette of a female dancer from Mohen-jo-Daro<sup>1</sup> and of the group of Mother-goddess terracottas from several sites in North India (Mathurā, Hātaras, etc.) showing similar physiognomy. The representation of the face is primitive, not met with in any other image of Tirthankaras. Like the Mohen-jo-Daro bronze and the well-known terracotta male figurine (with legs lost) from the same site, our figure shows long slim limbs, especially the hands and the feet.<sup>1a</sup> The torso is equally interesting. It does not show the broad, heavy and rather stiff shoulders of the Kushāṇa age, and its modelling with the slightly protruding abdomen, recalls to mind the abdomen of the polished Mauryan Jaina torso from Lohānīpur, near Patna (now preserved in the Patna Museum), discovered by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Unfortunately the findspot of the Pārśvanātha image is unknown, but it seems to have hailed from Northern or Western India, and cannot be later than the end of the first century B.C. (or the

1. Marshall, Sir John, *Mohen-jo-daro and The Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. III, pl. XCIV, figs. 6-8. For terracottas see, Gordon, D. H., *Early Indian Terracottas*, *Journal of India Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XI.

1a. See, Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XCIV, figs. 9, 11; pl. XCV, figs. 26-7; Mackay, *Further Excavations From Mohen-jo-Daro*, Vol. II, pl. LXXII, figs. 8-10, pl. LXXIII, figs. 6, 10, 11; pl. LXXV, figs. 1, 21.



early part of the 1st century A.D. upon a most conservative estimate), though the modelling of the torso and the limbs suggest early second or later third century B.C. as the probable age.

It is not possible to compare it with any known Gupta or later bronzes from any parts of India. A comparison with the Chausā bronzes (assignable to 2nd-to-4th centuries A.D.) also shows that our bronze is of an earlier style comparable with the primitive style obtained in ancient Indian terracottas. The applique technique of the eye-brows etc. supports the general impression of the ancient date of this piece.

The hair is arranged in schematic curls—rather worn out and the *ushṇīṣa* is absent. There is no *śrī-vatsa* mark on the chest.

Curly, snail-shell like hair is a *Mahāpurusha lakṣhaṇa* described in early texts like the *Nīdānakathā*.<sup>2</sup> The Jaina texts like the *Aupapātika* and the *Rāyapaseṇaiya* giving a description of Mahāvīra's body<sup>3</sup> are not later than c. 325 A.D. and represent a much earlier Indian tradition of *Mahāpurusha-lakṣhaṇas*. They also refer to the curly hair on the head turning to the right.

The sculptors of Mathurā often represented spirals of hair over the whole of the head in the form of snail-shells i.e. in schematic curls (*dakṣiṇāvarta romarāji*). This kind of coiffure is often adopted by dwarfs and Yakṣas.<sup>4</sup> "This way of indicating curly hair had existed in the art of India for a long time", and "the fact that this kind of hair was often worn by Yakṣa-like figures was perhaps one of the reasons that induced the sculptors to represent it also on the head of the Buddha. For in the mind of the masses the Buddha approached their conception of Yakṣas, and as for the earliest Buddha representations, they almost completely copied the already existing representations of Yakṣas, who had the semblance of monarchs". The above remarks of J. E. Van Luizen-de Leeuw are equally applicable to the Jina image from Mathurā. Even the

2. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣhṇīṣa and Crown*, JRAS., 1928, pp. 815-841; see Foucher, *L'art grecobouddhique*, Vol. II, p. 297.

3. *Aupapātika* and the *Rāyapaseṇaiya* give identical descriptions of Mahāvīra's body which may be compared with that of Buddha given by Sthiramati and discussed by Dr. Agrawala, V. S., *Thirty-two Marks on Buddha's Body*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, No. 1. For other Buddhist references, see, Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, pp. 458-460.

4. Examples of this method of representing the hair can be found in L. Bachhofer, *Die Frühindische Plastik*, Pl. XVI.c, XVIII, XLIV.e; XLIX.b; LIX.b; Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de Bodhi-gaya*, Ars Asiatica, Vol. XVII (Paris, 1935), pl. XXXIX, XL, and LVIII; L. Bachhofer, *Eine Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodhi-Gaya*, Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 73-76. Also, *The Art of India & Pakistan*, ed. by Sir Leigh Ashton, pl. 4. 46. Man and Woman, Terracotta from Ahichhatra (1st Cent. B.C.).



Lohānīpur torso bearing the Mauryan Polish is modelled after the tradition of Yaksha statutes.

It can be surmised that at least in the early part of the first century A.D. the schematic curls were introduced on Buddha's heads, but the Buddha image itself was introduced in worship at a later stage while the origin of the Jina image is much earlier as has been proved by the discovery of the Lohānīpur torso bearing the Mauryan polish. The schematic curls (not so properly done as in later Gupta images), should not therefore compel us to assign our bronze to a later date in the first or second century A.D. The bronze will have to be assigned to a period earlier than that of the earliest known Jina image at Mathura but probably later than the Lohānīpur torso.

If future researches could demonstrate the introduction of this style of hair to a period earlier than the beginning of first century B.C., it would immediately be possible to push the lower limit of this bronze (i.e., 1st century B.C.) to a much earlier age.<sup>5</sup> Excepting the uncertain evidence of the hair style, this bronze has all other characteristics which would make it almost contemporary with or slightly later than the Lohānīpur torso.

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5. Cf. The hair on the male figure on a railing pillar from Bharhut (2nd century B.C.) published in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 5, No. 33, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, A. Cunningham, pl. XXXII, Fig. 1.

## JAINA SCULPTURES FROM LĀḌOL

By *Umakant Premanand Shah*

In 1950, a few Jaina sculptures were collected from Lāḍol in North Gujarāt, by the Department of Archaeology, Baroda. Five sculptures from this collection, now transferred to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are described below.

At present Lāḍol is a small village near Vijāpur, Mehsānā District, North Gujarāt, but it seems to have been a well known Jaina Tirtha in the mediaeval period. It is said that Kumārapāla had built a Jaina shrine here. Three of the sculptures discussed here bear inscriptions which do not refer to the place but later references in the colophons of certain Jaina manuscripts show that the place was variously known as Lāṭāpalli or Lāḍaola.<sup>1</sup> The place seems to have continued as a Jaina centre of considerable importance upto at least the sixteenth century A.D. The *Guruguṇaratnākār-kāvya* (composed in V.S. 1541 by Somachāritra gaṇi) refers to the festivities celebrated here by a pious Jaina Sāha Mahādeva (in C. 1522 V.S.) of Devagiri in the South, when he came on a pilgrimage to Lāṭāpalli and other Jaina centres in Gujarāt. Dharmasāgara, a contemporary of the famous Hiravijayasūri was born in 1595 V.S. in an Osvāl Jaina family at Lāḍol.

Our inscriptions show that the consecration ceremonies were performed by Jaina saints of Chaitra-gachchha of the Śvetāmbara sect. The Chaitra-gachchha was started by a learned Jaina monk Śrī Dhaneśvara sūri of Chandra-kula who seems to have defeated the Digambaras in a disputation. In his line flourished one Bhuvana Chandra sūri, whose pupil was Śrī Devabhadra sūri. He had three pupils, one of whom was Śrī Jagat-Chandra sūri,<sup>2</sup> the founder of the famous Tapāgachchha. The second pupil was Śrī Devendrasūri while the third pupil was Vijayachandra sūri, the teacher of Kshema-kīrti who composed in V.S. 1332, the famous *ṭīkā* on the *Bṛihat-Kalpa-bhāṣya*. This geneology given by Kshemakīrti would show that Śrī Jagat-Chandra sūri lived in C. 1285 V.S. and that Bhuvanachandra sūri lived in C. 1225 V.S. The line of teachers between Dhaneśvara sūri and Bhuvanachandra is not known but it may be

1. A manuscript of *Vandāruvṛtti* written in 1637 V.S. at Lāḍaola is now preserved in a Bhaṇḍāra at Rāḍhanapur, see, *Sri Jaina-Sāhitya-pradarśana-praśasti-saṃgraha*, ed. by A. M. Shah (Ahmedabad, 1993 V.S.), p. 132. Another manuscript written in V.S. 1645 refers to it as Lāṭāpalli, see, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

2. See, Desai, M. D., *History of Jaina Literature* (Gujarātī), p. 394.



presumed that Dhaneśvara sūri started the Chaitra-gachchha at least a century before Bhuvana Chandra sūri. Probably this Dhaneśvara sūri is the same as Dhaneśvara, the author of the *Sura-sundarī kathā*, written in V.S. 1095. This Dhaneśvara sūri<sup>3</sup> was a contemporary of the famous Abhayadevasūri and both were the pupils of Śrī Jinesvara sūri of Chandra kula and it seems very likely that the Chaitra gachchha was started by Dhaneśvara sūri towards the close of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing more is known about the donors of the sculptures or about the Jain monks referred to in the inscriptions, discussed below.

Fig. 26. Inscription I reads:—

- line 1. (lotus symbol) Om Varshe shaṭ-śara-vahni-bhūmi-valaye Vaiśākha-pakshe-'site  
dvādaśyām mṛgalāñchhane vihitavān jirṇoddhṛtim khā-
- line 2. vadhi (i) Pallivāla-Kulodbhavaḥ sukṛitadhiś-chaityesva-kiye mudā Māṇikyo Vṛishabhadhvajasya su (sva)-
- line 3. pitu-ratnasya sachchhreyase (ii) śrī chaitra gachchhām  
bara-saptasapteḥ Śrī-Śālibhadrasyagurorvineyaḥ  
Śrī-Dharmachandrasya Munindraśishyaḥ  
pratishṭhitaḥ Śrī-Guṇachandra-miśraiḥ ||<sup>4</sup>  
Maṅgalam maha-śrīḥ.

Translation: In the year 1356, on Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, the virtuous Māṇikya of Pallivāla family, gladly did repairs to his own shrine of the (lord) whose cognizance is the bull (i.e. of Ādinātha, also called Rishabadeva) for the spiritual merit of his father Ratna (verse 1).

(This) has been consecrated by the venerable (*miśra*) Śrī Guṇachandra, a disciple of the best of sages called Śrī Dharmachandra, who was the disciple of the teacher Śrī Śālibhadra the very sun in the sky (in the form) of the illustrious Chaitra-gachchha. Auspiciousness, Great Abundance!

Note:—The date regularly corresponds to Monday, March 30, A.D. 1299. The language is faulty: *pratishṭhitaḥ* is a mistake for *pratishṭhāpitaḥ*. *Vineya* goes with Śrī Dharma-

3. See, Desai, M.D., History of Jaina Literature (Gujarati), pp. 208, 217.

4. For Kshemakirti's *praśasti* at the end of the *Bṛihat-Kalpa-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*, see, Catalogue of Jaina Mss. at Patan, (G.O. Series), Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

chandra and the *visarga* should be omitted and the two should form a compound.

The script is the *paḍi-mātrā* Nāgarī used in Jaina manuscripts of this age.

Fig. 27. Inscription II.

- line 1. Om ṭha Saṃvat 1356 varshe Vaishākha vadi Some  
Śrī-Kāṇha-Vasahikāyām Pallivāla-jñātiya Śre. Jasahaḍa
- line 2. bhāryā Deī suta Śre. Ratna bhāryā Jāmuna suta Śre.  
Māṇikyena Pitu Śre. Ratnasya śreyase ātmiya chaitye  
mūla-
- line 3. nāyakadeva-Śrī Ādinātha-jīṇoddhāraḥ<sup>5</sup> kārīta prati-  
shṭhitaḥ Śrī-Chaitra-gachchhiya Śrī-Śālibhadra-sūri-  
śishya-śrīmat-
- line 4. Dharmachandra - sūri-śishya - Śrī - Guṇachandra-suri-  
bhīḥ śubhamastu Śrī-Śramaṇa-samghasya chaa (śrī-  
vatsa mark?). śrī.
- line 5. Śre. Māṇikyā bhāryā Śre Māntī.

Translation: In the year 1356, on Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, in the shrine (*vasahikā*) of Śrī Kāṇha (i.e. originally built by Kāṇha and named after him), Śreshṭhī Māṇikyā, son of Jāmuna, wife of the banker Ratna, son of Deī, wife of the banker Jasahaḍa of the Pallivāla caste, carried repairs to the image of Ādinātha (installed as) the *mūlanāyaka* (chief deity) in his own (hereditary) shrine for the merit of his father banker Ratna. The consecration (of the image of Ādinātha) has been performed by Śrī Guṇachandra sūri, the pupil of Dharmachandra sūri, the disciple of Śrī Śālibhadra sūri of Śrī Chaitra gachchha. May it be beneficent to Śrī Śramaṇa-samgha. (figure of) banker Māṇikyā. (figure of) wife Māntī.

Note:—The date is the same as in No. 1 above. The language as before, is faulty. The significance of the 'ṭhā' after Om and of 'chha' in the last line is not clear. The script is the same as before, but the 'la' in 'Pallivāla' and in 'mūla' in the first and second lines respectively is noteworthy.

5. Visarga or a *jihvāmūliya* sign.



## Fig. 28. Inscription III.

line 1. Samvat 16<sup>6</sup>—varshe Vaishākha śu. 13 Śanau Uvaesa-  
vālaññātiya Śre Ratana bhāryā Śre. Jāmū

line 2. sutayā Līlukayā ātmaśreyase Śrī Abhinandana<sup>7</sup>-bimbam  
kāritam pratishṭhitam Śālibhadrāsūri-śishyaiḥ Śrī  
Dharmachandra-sūribhiḥ.

Translation:—In the year 13(25), on Saturday, the 13th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, the image of Śrī Abhinandana, caused to be made by Līluka, of Uvaesavāla caste, daughter of the banker (lady) Jāmū, wife of the merchant Ratana, for her own spiritual merit, was consecrated by Śrī Dharmachandra sūri, the pupil of Śālibhadra sūri.

Note:—The Uvaesavāla caste is now known as the Ośvāla *baniyā* caste. They are supposed to have migrated from Upakeśapura or modern Ośia in the old Jodhpur state. I have construed Uvaesavāla with Līluka rather than taking it as the caste of Ratana, for on the evidence of the two inscriptions discussed before, the merchant was of the Pallivāla caste. Līluka, the daughter, was possibly married to a member of the Ośvāla *baniya* caste.

The inscriptions numbers I and II, dated about 31 years later than number III, show that the consecration was done by a pupil of Dharmachandra. It is, therefore, reasonable to assign Śālibhadra sūri, the teacher of Dharmachandra sūri, to c. 1300 V.S. (A.D. 1244).

All the three inscriptions refer to the repairs or further installations, by members of the family of Śreshṭhi Ratna or Ratana; but, since the shrine has been referred to as Kānhavasahī, on the analogy of the title of Vimāla vasahī at Abu we might infer that the temple was originally built by one Kānha. Since Māṇikya

6. The date seems to be samvat 1325. A mutilated lower half of a Jaina Samavasarana, discovered from the same spot contains an inscription on its lower rim, dated in samvat 1325; it also shows that the consecration was performed by Dharmachandra sūri, as in our inscription. The sculpture is now transferred to the National Museum. The inscription reads as follows:—

1.1. Om Samvata 1325 varshe Jyeshṭhāvadi 4 Ravau Pallivālaññātiya Śre. Ba(?)lasya bhāryā Śre. Ja(?)yatra(?)to putra

1.2. Dhanapāla-Jayasimha-Vijayasimheti svakiya mātā Śreyortham Śrī Samavasaraṇam kāritam pratishṭhi-

1.3. tam Śrī-Chatragachchāya Śrī-Śālibhadrāsūri-śishya Śrī-Dharmachandrasūribhiḥ|| tha||  
śubham bhavatu||

7. The letters "Abhi" are engraved in line 2, but *nandana* "missed by the engraver was added later on below.



calls it his own Chaitya, Kānha must be an ancestor of the family of Māṇikya.

The evidence of Vimala vasahī is here noteworthy. We find a few *devakulikās* added or images installed in V.S. 1245 and in V.S. 1378 extensive additions and repairs were carried out. In V.S. 1202, Prithvipāla, a descendant of the family of Vimala, carried repairs to the shrine of Vimala and added the famous Hastīśālā in front of the shrine. Thus before c. 1200 V.S. there seems to have been some demolition of Indian shrines in Gujarāt by Muslim invaders. The temple at Lāḍol needed repairs in V.S. 1356. We find repairs at Abu in V.S. 1378. So the shrine at Lāḍol was either destroyed in the first Muslim invasion before 1200 V.S. or in another after this date but before 1356 V.S. Very probably it was the second invasion that was responsible for large scale demolition of the Lāḍol shrine. In the absence of further definite earlier evidence, we might presume that the Kānha-Vasahikā was built some time in the twelfth century or at least in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.

Inscription I (Fig. 26) is engraved on the lower rim of a pedestal of a Jina image (No. N.S. 244 in the Museum). The upper part is lost and the slab preserved seems to be only a right end of a big pedestal of an image of Ādinātha. Beginning from its left, the reliefs show, a four-armed bull-faced Yaksha sitting in *lalitāsana* on a stool with his right leg hanging and the left tucked up, below which is a defaced head of his elephant vehicle. The Yaksha, known as Gomukha in Jaina iconography, carries the goad and the noose in his right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the *varada mudrā* and the citron in the corresponding left ones. He sits in a miniature shrine with a trefoil arch of a late type, broader at ends, supported by two round pillars with thick plain rings at intervals. To the right of the shrine sits a male worshipper with folded hands, accompanied by his wife in a similar attitude sitting on his right. The male wears long prominent moustache and beard while his hair are tied in a prominent big knot at the back. A scarf passing round his right shoulder may be noted. He wears an armlet and a wristlet besides another ornament below the ends of the fingers of his hand. The use of this ornament is not known in earlier sculptures from Gujarāt. His wife wears a scarf, the ends of which fly at the back from below the elbow. The central part of the scarf (Guj. *Oḍhaṇī*) is used as a covering on the head, which is very artistically represented in the sculpture. The fact that in all sculptures of this age the *Oḍhaṇī* on the head is shown like an umbrella and not sticking to the head would suggest that some simple metal spring



was attached inside which kept it in this fashion. The lady wears prominent golden circular heavy ear-rings which seems to have been a fashion amongst the aristocratic people of the age.

The second slab (No. N. S. 242 in the Museum), with inscription No. II (Fig. 27) on it, appears to have been the left end of the same pedestal and contains a miniature shrine with a figure of Chakreśvari, the attendant Yakshiṇī of Ādinātha and a male and a female donor sitting in the same posture as in Fig. 26 and wearing the same costume. The names of these two donors are preserved in the lowermost line of the inscription, and as is often the case in such Jaina sculptures, the names of Śreshṭhi Māṇika and *bhāryā* Śreshṭhi Mānti inscribed here are labels to the figures of the donors carved by the side of Chakreśvari. Unfortunately a part of the stone in Fig. 26 has peeled off at the lowermost end and the names of donors in Fig. 26 are lost if at all they had been inscribed on the lost part. But they possibly represented the parents of Māṇikya, Ratna and his wife Jamunā, for whose spiritual benefit the devoted son had carried out these repairs.

The central portion of this long pedestal must have contained, on the analogy of the pedestal discussed below and illustrated in Fig. 28, a lion and an elephant on each side of a central four-armed goddess whom I have identified as Śānti-devatā.

It is indeed surprising to find that instead of one inscription running over the entire length of the pedestal of Ādinātha—with its central part missing and the two ends described above remaining—there are two separate inscriptions at the two ends and one does not know whether a third existed on the missing central portion. This is the only known example of such a practice. Nor is it possible to regard the two pieces in Figs. 26 and 27 as parts of two different pedestals for the style of carving, the size of the stones as also composition and lining of the relief are so admirably similar that one would easily regard them as parts of the same pedestal. Besides, the two inscriptions give identical dates and speak of the same gift.

The pedestal represented in Fig. 28, has, below it, an inscription running over its entire length and showing that it was a pedestal of an image of the Tirthankara Abhinandana. The Yakshi on the left end is Ambikā, four-armed, carrying the mango-bunch in three hands and holding her child on the lap with the left lower hand. The corresponding Yaksha on the right end of the pedestal is also four-armed and carries the goad in the right upper hand, the noose in



the left upper and the bag (?) in the left lower hand; the right lower is held in the *varada* pose. In the centre, a four-armed smaller figure of a goddess, sitting in the *lalita* pose, represents the *Śānti-devatā*. She carries the lotus in each of the two upper hands and shows the *varada mudrā* and the pot (?) in the right and the left lower hands respectively. Below her is the Dharma-chakra with a deer on each side, placed on a lotus.

The pedestal has certain iconographic peculiarities. The Yakshiṇī of Abhinandana according to Hemachandra and other writers of the Śvetāmbara tradition is Kālikā and not Ambikā; the Yaksha again is called Yakshanāyaka and holds a different set of symbols. The pair represented on our pedestal represents a tradition not traced hitherto in literature but can be inferred to have been an evolution of the earlier pair of a Kubera-like Yaksha and Yakshiṇī Ambikā treated as attendants common to figures of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras. The Yaksha on our pedestal represents a stage of evolution from the Kubera-like earlier two-armed Yaksha, while Ambikā too, who was originally two-armed has here two extra hands added to her earlier form. A similar evolution is traced on a number of pedestals in the different cells of temples at Kumbhārīā and in the Vimala vasahī, Abu. This tradition seems to have died out towards the end of the fourteenth century V.S.

Fig. 29 represents the upper half of the carved back-slab of a Tirthankara image (No. N.S. 246) and represents a part of the *parikara*. The various relief carvings are beautifully arranged in a semi-circular arch giving the appearance of a dome of a miniature shrine in the centre of which was the figure of a Tirthankara sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The head of the detachable Jina figure rested in the hollow below the *chhatra-traya* (triple umbrella); on top of the *chhatra* sits in the centre a celestial dwarf with folded hands, sometimes this figure carries a conch when the motif represents the *divya-dhvani*, one of the eight chief attendants (*aṣṭa-mahā-prāti-hāryāṇi*) of a Jina. On his two sides are two flying drum-beaters followed by celestials blowing the pipe, and representing *deva-undubhi* and *divyadhvani* respectively. At both ends, on each side of the *chhatra-traya*, is an elephant carrying a pitcher in the trunk, obviously for the lustration of the Jina. A semi-circular band of swans above these figures is one of the favourite motives of Western Indian or Gujarati art.

Below the elephant, on each side, is a figure of a heavenly garland-bearer. On one side of the garland-bearer is a miniature shrine with a beautiful figure of a celestial pipe-player. In Fig. 30, which



also represents an upper half of another *parikara* of a Tirthankara (No. N.S. 245), the pipe-players are replaced by two miniature figures of Tirthankaras. These *parikaras* suggest, on the analogy of such sculptures obtained all over Western India, that there was a central Tirthankara image in the sitting posture, with a standing fly-whisk bearer or a Tirthankara on each side. In Figure 30 at least, there was a standing Tirthankara on each side since the presence of two Tirthankaras in the two miniature shrines show that the sculpture formed part of a *pañchatīrthika* Jina image with a central Jina, two standing Jinas and two smaller Jinas on tops of the two standing Jinas.

The above two *parikaras* practically agree with the description given in the *Vāstusāra* of Ṭhakkara Pheru (composed in V.S. 1372 = A.D. 1316), chapter 2, verses 26-38. Our sculptures belong to the same age.

Figure sculpture in Figs. 29 and 30 is noteworthy. The elephants are beautifully carved, though the garland-bearers are stylised and stiff, the piper-blowers or the drum-beaters are full of life and action.

## MY TOUR TO SAURASHTRA

By R. G. Gyani

With its vast wealth of artistic and cultural monuments, Saurashtra situated on the western coast of India, has played a prominent part in the history of Indian culture and civilization. It has a hoary past. The recent excavations at Rangpur near Limbdi and at Vasai near Jamnagar and a neolithic site at Aliabada also near Jamnagar, throw much light on the pre-historic culture of Saurashtra.

Asoka's Rock Edict at Junagadh near Mt. Girnar is the earliest known inscription in the monumental history of Saurashtra. This two thousand three hundred year old dark granite stone speaks out the noblest and the immortal message of Asoka which even today throws a challenge to the modern world. The fundamental principles of truth, non-violence, *dharma* and peace could not be dimmed by time. This rock also carries the inscriptions of Mahakshatrapa Rudra-Daman and Skanda Gupta, the great Gupta ruler as well.

A series of caves at Junagadh along the western bank of the ancient Sudarsana Lake, Bhuvneshwar in Halar, Dhank near Gondal, Talaja in Gohilwad, and Sana in the south-east Gir forest of Saurashtra and Prabhas Patan on the west bank of the Hiran river stand testimony to the glory of ancient Saurashtra.

Tanks and step-wells in Saurashtra have their own charm. Saurashtra is the land of valour. Its forts and battle-fields remind us of its heroic past. Memorial stones known as *Paliyas* stud the land even today. They were erected in memory of those "fallen in action" and their wives performing 'Sati' after them. Every stone has its own history and significance, romance, love, war and sacrifice.

The Upper Kot or Upper Fort of Junagadh is a great mine of antiquities.

Saurashtra is also very rich in its temples. Unfortunately very little is known of the remains of early architecture and art in Western India, but the traditional belief is that the "School of the Ancient West" flourished during the seventh century A.D. The pre-Chalukyan monuments of temple architecture like that of Gop, Sonkansari, Visavada, Bileshwar, Sutrapada, Than, Kadwar, etc.,



exist even today dating back to 1000 A.D. The Chalukyan architecture is represented in its full bloom in the remains of Somnath-Ghumli, Sejakpur, etc.

Huge mosques are also seen in many parts of Saurashtra where the Muslims ruled before the integration.

Halvad is noted for its beautiful art of wood-carving. The copies of Darbargadh Frescoes at Shihor and Jamnagar are noteworthy. Kotho and Lakotho of Jamnagar are also beautiful monuments of Saurashtra.

Saurashtra has in all five museums which contain representative collection of the artistic and cultural objects of their respective regions.

With the permission of the Chairman, I left Bombay on the 8th of November 1953 by Saurashtra Mail with a view to see the museums and chief monuments of Saurashtra. The next afternoon I reached Bhavnagar. There in consultation with Sri Narad Bhat, the officiating Curator, I prepared my programme of visits in Gohilwad to Valabhipur, Palitana Sihor, a two day's programme.

Accordingly accompanied by the officiating Curator, we left for Valabhipur in the morning of the 10th by car, and reached Valabhipur at about 12 noon. Here we saw the excavated mounds. There is nothing spectacular on the site though many antiquities are often picked up all over the area. Being the capital of the Maitrakas, Valabhi has a history of its own. There are large number of copper plates of Valabhi Kings, that have helped the scholars to make up the genealogy of the kings of this dynasty. Coins of these kings are found, but due to the stereotyped legends and the absence of dates on them, they are not helpful in solving the problems of history. Looking for any collection of antiquities we were directed towards the Public Library where a show case containing the antiquities unearthed at this place is housed.

#### *Antiquities in the Valabhipur Library*

The Librarian is the Honorary Custodian of this collection of antiquities.

The collection consists of two corroded copper plates of some Valabhi ruler with the *Bull Seal* attached to the ring. There are some Buddhist votive seals and tablets, shell and ivory bangles, a few beads of the ancient period and some terracotta figurines in the Gupta style. Some pieces of pottery were also there. A couple of stone objects betray Mauryan polish. There are also some



Valabhi and Gadhiya coins. If enthusiasm is aroused and proper encouragement by way of funds and trained staff is forthcoming one could look forward to local co-operation in the collection of antiquities.

Having seen what was available at the spot we proceeded by car to Sihor about 20 miles from Valabhipur.

### Sihor

Sihor or Simhapur as it was called in the past, is a town situated on the slope of the Sihor Range extending to the river Gautami which flows by the western wall of the city. The old site of the mediaeval town, now lying waste, lies at a distance of about half a mile to the south. According to the legend it was called Saravata-pur, where the sage Gautama had his hermitage. Mulraja Solanki is said to have given the place in charity to the Udichya Brahmans in the 11th century, and later on in the 13th century the famous Siddharaj Jaya Sinha is said to have come there to get rid of his leprosy by bathing in the Bramha Kund here. This tank is still in existence. It has steps on all the four sides with niches in the walls covered with the figures of various Hindu gods and goddesses which furnish iconographic details of importance. Nearby is the hermitage of Gautama and the Siva temple of Gautameshvara. This temple is also old and affords a good study of Chalukyan architecture.

There is a good library in the town which possesses many old Sanskrit manuscripts some of which deal with the local history. There is a little fortress called Darbargadh where there are beautiful wall paintings of 18th and 19th centuries which throw considerable light on the life and manners of the people.

I was also shown a tomb believed to be the *Samadhi* of Nana Sahib, son of the last Peshwa Bajirao III who took part in the Mutiny of 1857. It is said that after being wounded he fled to Nepal with some of his companions and went underground. He returned incognito to Gujarat under the name of Sadhu Dayanand and stayed in one of the caves in the Sihor hills with a couple of companions. He used to read, conduct religious assemblies and treat the suffering people by jungle herbs. It is said that he subsisted on some gold muhrs which he produced mysteriously. He had several wounds on his body and was a well built fellow with a strong physique. A few days before his death he revealed his identity and gave the local people some money for his own cremation and building of a *samadhi* over his remains. This *samadhi*



is still existing and his death anniversary is celebrated every year. He is said to have died in 1861 A.D.

From Sihor we returned by car to Songadh at about 8 p.m. From here we went by train to Palitana.

### Palitana

Palitana is the principal town of the Taluka of that name. It is celebrated for the sacred Satrunjaya Hill which is a place of pilgrimage for the Jains. It is 1977 feet above the sea level. The summit is divided into two peaks. The entire summit is covered with temples among which the most famous are those of Adinatha, Kumara Pala, Vimal Sah, Raja Sampriti and Chaumukha. The last one is the loftiest of the temples built by numerous Jain devotees on the Satrunjaya Hills, and is visible from a distance of 20 miles. There are many old temples in this group but because of the extensive repairs carried out by the Jains most of the exterior facades of the temples present a modern look. Even in the interior, lot of improvements and renovations have been effected with the result that except the dates inscribed on numerous images which range from the 9th to the 19th century. There is hardly any monument in its original form. Here I got an opportunity for studying the images of all the twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras with special reference to their respective *lanchhanas* and Yakshas and Sasana Devis.

By the evening train, we returned to Bhavnagar via Songadh.

### Bhavnagar

On the 11th morning I visited the Barton Museum of Bhavnagar. The Museum was opened as early as 1895 and was formerly housed in the upper story of the Barton Library but was shifted to the laboratory of the Samaldas College. After the merger it is under the Ministry of Education of the Saurashtra Government and is housed in a spacious bungalow adjoining the Barton library. The collection comprises of sculptures, stone inscriptions, small antiquities, copper plates, Sanskrit manuscripts, old coins, fossils, weapons, etc. Besides, there are a large number of European and Indian paintings. Of the Indian paintings the best are some paintings from Saurashtra. A special mention must be made to the actual size copies of the paintings of Darbargadh at Sihor. The officiating Curator has classified the collections and displayed them nicely but it suffers from want of proper labels. Visitors do require information about the exhibits. I, therefore, dictated about 60 labels of important exhibits to him.



I left Bhavnagar on the evening of the 11th and reached Rajkot on the 12th morning. Shri Nanavati who is also the Superintendent of Archaeology of Saurashtra took me to the Secretary of the Education Department where we had a discussion about the future of museums in Saurashtra. He had a proposal of closing down all the museums of Saurashtra and merge them into a big central museum of Saurashtra to be located at Rajkot or some other central place. I impressed upon the authorities the desirability of local museums, and discouraged the idea of merging local museums into a central one.

### **Rajkot—Watson Museum of Antiquities**

I visited the museum on the 11th afternoon and on the 12th morning. This museum was started in 1888 in the memory of Col. John W. Watson, Political Agent of Kathiawar. The heterogeneous collection of this museum is archæological, geological, botanical and zoological, and is composed of stone images, copper plates, inscriptions, rubbings of inscriptions from Girnar or other places in Saurashtra, coins particularly of Guptas and Kshatrapa rulers and the Sultans of Gujarat and modern coins. Most of the zoological exhibits have deteriorated beyond repairs and deserve to be discarded. All the same the main hall is well arranged with the sculptures from Ghumli, Gop and other important archæological sites in Saurashtra. Photographs of important art and archæological exhibits are displayed at the entrance. A few picture post-cards are also available at the counter. A good handbook to guide the visitors is a necessity.

### **Junagadh**

Here under the guidance of my predecessor in this museum, Sri G. V. Acharya, I saw the world famous Asokan edict at the foot of Girnar Hills where two more important epigraphical records of Skanda Gupta and the Kshatrapa Rudra Daman also exist. The Damodar Kund and Sudarsana lake mentioned in these inscriptions were shown to me. They are at present filled up and are used for cultivation and gardening. We then saw the Kodia Khapra Caves in Upper Kot and other monuments the next day.

Narsinha Mehta, the great Gujarati saint poet's place of residence and activity, where he used to sing his devotional songs, is now a protected area and the enclosure known as 'Narsinha Mehta no Choro' was also shown to me.

We then went to the Rasulkhanji's Museum and the Zoo. Collections of the museum are housed in a double storied building originally a pleasure house of the Nawab in the Public Garden



of Junagadh. This museum contains exhibits of Archaeological and Natural History interest. The latter is mostly a collection of lions, leopards, deer and other animals shot by the late Nawabs of Junagadh which are very nicely mounted and displayed in the furnished rooms on the first floor of the museum. In the Archaeological collection the museum has a large number of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist images and inscribed slabs both in Sanskrit and Persian, coins and copper plates. Besides some prehistoric antiquities there are Buddhist relics excavated at the Boria Stupa and Upparkot and those recently discovered during the excavations at Intwa carried on by Sri G. V. Acharya. From the antiquities discovered it appears that the Stupa here was built by the Kshatrapa king Rudrasena who ruled over Central Saurashtra. The fact is borne out by a stone seal exhibited in one of the show cases along with the relics of Intwa which speaks of the dedication of a stupa and a monastery for the Buddhist monks. The legend on the seal reads—"Maharaja Rudrasena—Vihara—Bhikshu—Sanghasya". Speaking generally there is a lot of congestion in the galleries of this Museum. Sculptures and Epigraphs (some of which are quite important) are nicely arranged and labelled. The picture gallery is unfortunately situated in a verandah where the pictures are directly exposed to the glare of the sun with the result that the beautiful colours are fading. The pictures must be removed forthwith from this verandah or the gallery must be provided with curtains to protect the paintings from sun and rain.

There is very good reference library housed in the museum building consisting of many rare and valuable publications. Mr. Baxi, the officiating Curator, is in charge of both the museum and the Zoo. I saw the Zoo also after going round the galleries of the museum.

I left Junagadh on the 16th after visiting the beautiful sites and temples on Girnar. Most of the Jain temples though old present a renovated appearance.

### Prabas Patan

After leaving Junagadh I went by train to Somnath Patan via Verawal which has been an ancient place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, celebrated for its ancient temple of Somnath—one of the twelve Jyotir Lingas or principal Siva shrines of India. The different strata discovered during the excavations at Somanath revealed the history of the monument and laid bare the architectural and sculptural details of seven different stages in which the temple was repaired and enlarged. The excavations afford a very interesting study



from the archaeological point of view. Unfortunately now there is no trace of the old architecture except in photographs taken at different stages of excavation and displayed in the museum.

The museum is situated in the original Surya temple which was during the Muslim period converted into the Juma masjid of Somnath. The vast area of this temple compound and the interior of the mosque is occupied by pillars, capitals, domes and other architectural fragments as they came out from different levels, representing various periods of history and all the sculptures that were discovered from these levels are exhibited levelwise inside with explanatory labels ably drafted by the Curator. The generic labels are in English but the specific ones are in Hindi.

Besides a deep knowledge of ancient architecture and iconography, Mr. Shastri had developed a special hobby of collecting antiquities including terracottas, beads, ivory and shell bangles and stone implements, etc. Pottery, pot-sherds and ivory and shell objects can be dated back to a remote antiquity. Quite a large number of inscribed slabs from Somnath and other local temples are collected here and displayed with copious notes on the labels.

For want of suitable stands or furniture, show-cases, etc., the images and antiquities are spread on the floor or on some small tables.

From this collection some good sculptures and antiquities can be selected and brought to this museum with the permission of the Saurashtra Government. Sculptures of the Valabhi level are the most beautiful of all and a few specimen out of the lot would be valuable acquisitions for us.

I also saw the newly built shrine at the old site of Somnath. The site is really grand on the sea-shore but is devoid of its original grandeur and beautiful architecture. The local Parvati temple, the Jain temple and many other old monuments were shown to me by Sri Shastri. The old site at Kusasthali where Lord Krishna is said to have breathed his last is also of importance.

### Jamnagar

The Curator showed me round the galleries of the museum and other important sites at this place. The museum is situated in a building called 'Lakhoto' a historical edifice surrounded by a beautiful lake and joined with the main land by an over-bridge. This building and lake were constructed by the late Jam Saheb of Navanagar in V. Smt. 1892. It was originally built as a pleasure house. The courtyard, inside the palace with huge corridors, display the sculptures from Ghumali and other places in the State. They are



nically arranged with explanatory labels giving the find spots and age, etc. in each case. The main attraction of this building is the wooden ceiling with beautiful paintings of the late 18th century preserved here in extenso. They need immediate protection from the dampening effect of water percolating from the cracks in the plaster terrace above. Paintings from the *Siva Purana* and huge paintings depicting local historical events and persons of the State are very interesting. The wall paintings in these rooms also need immediate protection and preservation.

### Dwarka

From Jamnagar I proceeded to Dwarka, the ancient Puranic abode of Lord Krishna and the Bet Dwarka. Here I met Sri Kalyan Rai Joshi, a member of the Dharmasthan Trusts of this place and Somnath and discussed with him the antiquity and saw the antiquarian remains of this place. I drew the attention to the improper way of repairs being carried on by the P.W.D. in the main Dwarakadhisha temple. I have brought this fact to the notice of the Bombay Government who are taking steps to stop this sort of repairs which mar the beauty of the fine architectural details and old sculptures. There are quite a good number of old temples of the mediaeval period at this place which require attention.

### Back to Rajkot

After visiting the above places and seeing all the five museums and a few monuments of Saurashtra, I returned to Rajkot on my way back to Bombay.

Here a meeting was arranged under the presidentship of the Education Minister which was attended by most of the Government officials of different departments and members of the Saurashtra Sanskriti and Sahitya Mandala. I explained to them the archaeological and cultural importance of Saurashtra with reference to her old history and historical monuments and urged upon them the need for developing their museums and try to make them more popular by increasing their utility to the public. The authorities have promised to put into action some of the suggestions made by me in that connection.

Having thus concluded my flying visit to Saurashtra, I returned to Bombay on the 24th of November by Saurashtra Mail in the morning.





## THE CHINKARA OR INDIAN GAZELLE

By S. Thomas Satyamurti

(Curator, Natural History Section)

A notable addition to the Mammal gallery in the Natural History Section of the Prince of Wales Museum during the current year is a male specimen of the Chinkara or Indian Gazelle, *Gazella gazella bennetti* (Sykes) (Fig. 31). The animal was recently secured from the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, where it was reported to have died while engaged in a fight with one of its mates. The specimen is a welcome addition, since it has served to fill up a conspicuous gap in the exhibited series of Bovine animals in our gallery.

The Chinkara is a small gazelle of slender and graceful build, inhabiting the plains and low hills of North Western and Central India, extending through the Deccan to a little south of the Krishna river. An adult male measures about 26 inches in length at the shoulder and weighs about 5 lbs. Horns are present in both sexes; in this feature it differs from both the Tibetan and Persian gazelles in which the females are hornless. The horns in the male are nearly straight, showing a small sideward divergence when viewed from the front, but with a slight S-like curve when seen from the side, the points curving somewhat forwards. They are conspicuously ridged, the number of ridges being generally about fifteen or sixteen, but occasionally there may be as many as twenty-five. The horns in the female are much smaller, smooth and conical.

The colour of the Chinkara is a light chestnut above, deepening a little where it joins the white of the flank and underparts. The chin, breast, lower parts and back of the thighs are white, but the white colour does not reach up to the root of the tail. The tail is nearly black and the tufts of hair on the knees are somewhat variable in colour, often dark brown. The face has a whitish streak, running down each side, outside which is a rufous stripe; the middle of the face is dark rufous from the roots of the horns to the nostrils and sometimes bears a dusky patch above the nose.

In Sind and the Indian desert the Chinkara is generally paler in colour, as is commonly observed in desert animals. This form is sometimes treated as a distinct subspecies.

The range of the Chinkara extends throughout the low hills of North-Western and Central India, upto Baluchistan and the east-



ern shore of the Persian Gulf. The form inhabiting Baluchistan and Persia differs in certain characters of the female, and is separated as a distinct race. The Indian, or typical race, is found in suitable localities over a considerable area of Peninsular India, ranging throughout the Punjab, Sind, Rajputana, the North West Provinces and the Bombay Presidency, with the exception of the Western Ghats and the Konkan. In Central India it occurs as far east as Palamow. It also occurs in Hyderabad, and in the Madras State to a little south of the Kistna, where it has been recorded from Anantapur and the north of Mysore.

The Indian Gazelle inhabits waste lands interspersed with streams and ravines, and is commonly seen in small herds of from ten to twenty animals, being far less gregarious than the Indian Antelope. It is frequently found among scattered bushes or thin tree-jungle, and may often be met with on undulating ground, even on top of hills. It is common in sand-hills of the desert zone and in the salt range, Punjab, it ascends to about 4000 feet. It is seldom seen in alluvial plains and haunts cultivated areas to a much less extent than the Antelope.

The food of the Chinkara consists mainly of grass, leaves of bushes and shrubs, but sometimes fruits such as pumpkin and melons are also eaten. They are capable of surviving for long periods without water and in desert country they can manage to exist entirely without it, deriving the little moisture they need from the vegetation on which they feed. Some observers believe that they never drink, but instances are on record where they have been actually seen in the act of drinking. They drink freely where water is available, especially in summer. An observer has recorded the fact that in the Central Provinces, a herd of about a dozen Chinkara used to come and drink either singly or in pairs at a road-side tank regularly every afternoon between 4 and 5 p.m. They are particularly fond of the green, luscious grass growing near water.

Gazelles are extremely swift and can seldom be overtaken by dogs. When disturbed or frightened they invariably start off at once at a gallop without the preliminary bounds so characteristic of the Indian antelope. They possess remarkable powers of endurance, and their sense of sight, smell and hearing are well developed.

Chinkara bucks have been observed to fight after the manner of rams, running into one another from a short distance and striking their heads together with great violence. When alarmed, the Chinkara stamps smartly with the fore-feet, like a sheep, uttering

a loud hissing sound. They have no particular breeding season. The bucks are much less pugnacious than in the case of the antelope. One or two fawns are born at a time and does may often be seen followed by a pair of fawns. The Indian Gazelle is also noted for its habit of dropping its dung repeatedly at the same spot.

As a game animal, the Indian Gazelle has ranked as a favourite, and has long been known to sportsmen as the "ravine deer". The flesh of the Chinkara is said to be excellent for the table, being far superior to that of the antelope; and as the animal is so often found in broken ground, where stalking is comparatively easy, it affords good sport. With a little bit of patience it is possible to secure a specimen with a small-bore rifle as they do not go far when disturbed, although they might start off at a wild pace. In olden days, the natives of certain parts of India were in the habit of hunting the Chinkara with the aid of the falcon, the bird being first flown at the animal so as to strike it on the head and thus stun the animal, when the greyhounds were allowed to rush in and pull down the Gazelle.



## GENERAL

A brief note on the working of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, during the year 1952-53.

The popularity of the Prince of Wales Museum has continued to grow with the visiting public. This has been amply demonstrated by the increased daily attendance of visitors. On the average over 4500 persons visited the Museum on working days. On some Sundays and holidays the attendance is from eight to 10,000. Even on the two days of the week when an admission fee of two annas per person is charged, the average attendance is 1200.

On the question of extending the Natural History Section wing, and the establishment of the Industrial Section referred to in the last year's report, it is gratifying to report that some headway has been made. It is hoped that generous contributions from Government, the business and industrial magnates, and the public in general would be forthcoming in an ample measure for the purpose. The Trustees are very happy in that Government and the merchant community have come to realise the need for the establishment of an Industrial Museum in the City of Bombay and are, therefore, full of hope that the scheme would fructify in the near future. Additional space required for the expansion and development of the Art and Archaeological Sections has been engaging the attention of the Trustees.

During the year the Bronze Gallery of the Archaeological Section was rearranged and labelled on scientific lines. It is regretted that the Sir Dorab Tata Gallery which has been temporarily used as a Store Room could not be opened to the public as expected, as all rejected exhibits have not yet been removed. This matter, however, is receiving attention, and every attempt will be made to open the said gallery to the public as early as possible. It has also been decided to utilize the circular gallery on the mezzanine floor (1st floor) of the main building for displaying the very valuable and rare Indian paintings belonging to various schools, acquired by purchase. Not much progress has been possible in the Natural History Section on account of the Invertebrate Gallery having been temporarily used to store the reference collection of birds, mammals, reptiles, and fishes.

A scheme to enrich the Museum collection by exchanging duplicates in the Museum with suitable exhibits from other Museums



was adopted. As a step in this direction, it has been decided to give duplicates from the Mohenjodaro collections in exchange for Rajghat pottery, seals, etc., offered by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. A scheme of arranging temporary exhibitions was introduced during the year. In consequence, some rare exhibits were brought on loan from the Kolhapur Museum for a temporary Exhibition here, through the good offices of the Director of Archives, Bombay, and in return some exhibits were given on loan to the Kolhapur Museum in exchange, for holding a temporary exhibition in that Museum, the idea being to give an opportunity to the public to see, understand and appreciate the importance of these rare and important exhibits.

Only few anthropological exhibits were on display in the Museum all these years, which were on loan from the Anthropological Society of Bombay. With a view to developing and establishing a full fledged Anthropological Museum in Bombay, the Anthropological Society of Bombay approached the Museum authorities that some additional space be allotted for displaying more exhibits. The Trustees responded to the request and allotted the passage on the 1st floor of the main building leading to the extension, as a temporary measure. Here, the anthropological collection made by Dr. Verrier Elwin, a renowned anthropologist, and also some additional select collections belonging to the Society have been displayed.

To give wider publicity to the Museum exhibits, folders of some rare exhibits have been printed and put on sale. It is gratifying to observe that the Museum Bulletin, the first volume of which was published during the year, has been very well received and appreciated both in India and abroad. The matter for publishing an Art Booklet is ready, and it is hoped to print and publish the same next year.

With the merger of the Indian States with the State of Bombay, big lots of coins which were formerly stored in the Treasuries of those States, were received through the Director of Archives for examination and report. This has given an opportunity to the Museum to enrich its coin collection. Some very rare and valuable Gupta coins were acquired by purchase to fill up the gaps in the Coin Cabinet.

Valuable additions to the collections of the Art and Archaeological Section were made by purchase of paintings and bronzes. For the Natural History Section, additions to the collections were made



as a result of a few expeditions conducted by the staff during the year. Some specimens were also received as gifts from coin collectors.

Activities of hel and cooperation with other museums and general public were continued. The staff contributed articles on Museum subjects to journals and periodicals as usual. Some of their more important research articles were published in the Museum Bulletin. Permission for reproducing Museum exhibits were given to individuals and journals. The public were helped in the identification of articles brought to the Museum. Opinion on antiquities and other art objects bought by curio collectors for export out of India, was given as required by the Customs authorities.

The usual educational activities conducted by the Nature Education Organiser attached to the Natural History Section were continued by him as usual. A few lectures on Museum subjects and radio talks were given by some members of the staff and outsiders. Interested visitors, Goodwill Missions and Cultural Delegations were taken round the Museum galleries by previous arrangement.

### ART SECTION

#### *Labels.*

The work of labelling was continued during the year. Generic labels in English and Hindi on "Gold and Silver plate," "Inros and Netsuke," "Wedgewood Pottery and Vincennes Sevres porcelain," were prepared. Specific labels for Japanese and Indian Images and some pictures from the *Amaruśataka* were prepared. Labels on wooden panels were ordered out for Chinese, and Japanese pictures in the Extension Gallery.

#### *Publications and Publicity.*

The work of preparing the second number of the Museum Bulletin was taken in hand. This required a lot of research work. The Director contributed an article on *Amaruśataka* collection during the year. It took him several months to complete this article, as it involved a study of various problems concerning the School of Malwa. Mr. Karl Khandalavala, one of the Trustees, also contributed an interesting article on the Painting of Jammu School in the Museum.

The preparation of a booklet on Indian Art Collections in the Museum was taken in hand. The selection of exhibits for reproduction and the writing of the introduction and the making of blocks etc. were also undertaken. It is hoped to publish the booklet as early as possible.



In order to popularise the Indian paintings in the Museum a set of three folders was printed, viz. "Camel Fight", "Jahangir's visit to the Mausoleum of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer", and "Heroine Garlanding the Hero". These folders are on sale at the Museum counter at Re. 1/- each.

Large number of students visiting the Museum by previous appointments were taken round the Art Section galleries by the members of the staff. Commercial art students were helped in the selection of designs from Indian art for study purposes.

Large number of journalists and research workers were helped with the materials in the Museum. This service besides helping them in their research, afforded wide publicity to the Museum exhibits. The same co-operation was extended to the Films Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

A note on the collections in the Art Section was forwarded to the Regional Tourist Officer, Ministry of Transport, Government of India, New Delhi, as this was required by that Department in connection with a publication for the use of Foreign tourists.

#### *Miscellaneous.*

The Customs authorities frequently called at the Museum in connection with the objects of art being taken out of the country by foreign visitors. These objects were examined by the Director and suitable advice was given. This service was undertaken with a view to prevent the export of art treasures from our country. The service was not limited to the Customs authorities only; the members of the public were helped from time to time in the identification and evaluation of art objects. A large number of connoisseurs have taken advantage of this free service, and many prospective buyers have been saved from purchasing faked objects.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION

#### *Education & Research*

The Curator gave a series of talks on the All India Radio on "The Ancient Caves of the Ghats", and "Life in India during the Mauryan Period". The Assistant Curator contributed two articles in the Museum Bulletin, namely (a) "Pre-Aryan and Archaic Indo-Aryan Art", and (b) "Saiva Sculpture of Parel". The Gallery Assistant contributed three articles in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India on (a) "A hoard of Gupta Coins found in Gujarat", (b) "A New Mint of Aurangzeb", and (c) "Some Gold Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat".



*Numismatics*

During the year under report 777 Gadhiya silver coins from Colaba District, 926 gold coins of Vijayanagar dynasty from Hubli, 40 South Indian gold coins, 31 Valabhi silver coins, and 9 gold coins of the Imperial Guptas from Viramgam Taluka including those sent by the Director of Archives from the treasuries of the merged States, were examined.

*Acquisitions*

The following coins were acquired for the Museum Coin Cabinet:

9 gold coins of Vijayanagar from the Bombay Government, 8 silver coins of Orachha State from the U. P. Government, 22 gold Gupta coins from the Maharaja of Bharatpur by purchase, 81 post-Mughal silver, 53 silver of Radhanpur currency, and 261 copper and billon of the Sultans of Delhi and Gujarat from various State collections.

The Anthropological collections consisting of objects used by the Bonda, Gond, Warli and other aboriginal tribes were received on loan from Dr. Verrier Elwin, through the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

*Rearrangement*

Rearrangement of the Pre-Historic Gallery was carried out in accordance with the arrangement mentioned in the Handbook of the said Gallery.

Additions and alterations were carried out in the former Buddhist Gallery in order to turn it into a Bronze Gallery. The Bronzes were exhibited on regional basis with suitable labels and the Gallery was thrown open to the public. A generic label at the entrance to the Gallery explains the history of Indian bronzes in general.

Adjoining the Bronze Gallery a Pottery Section was arranged and opened to the public for the first time. At the entrance of this Section, an explanatory label has been displayed which stresses the importance of pottery in modern archaeological science for the information of the visitors.

*Special Exhibition*

The bronze and terracotta antiquities of Brahmagiri of the second or third century A.D. from the Kolhapur Museum received on loan through the Director of Archives, Bombay State, for temporary exhibition, were displayed in the Key Gallery with suitable labels.

In exchange for the above collection, a representative collection of antiquities from Mohenjodaro was sent to the Kolhapur Museum as a temporary loan for a special exhibition in that Museum.

### *Cleaning & Preservation*

The Chemical Assistant cleaned 969 gold, 1850 silver and 236 copper coins during the year under report; he also treated 94 Rajput paintings of the Art Section of the Museum.

## NATURAL HISTORY SECTION

Members of the Committee of Trustees in charge of the administration of the Section were:—

1. Mr. B. A. Dalal, B.A., LL.B., S.T.C., M.L.C., (Chairman),
2. Mr. Humayun Abdulali,
3. Mr. R. E. Hawkins.

*Research collections:*—The work of the staff was directed to conserving, classifying and cataloguing the existing reference collections and the additions made during the year under review.

*Mammals:*—Of the 30 specimens added, the following may be mentioned:—

1. The Nilgiri Langur—*Presbytis johni* (Fischer). Locality: Nilgiri-Wynaad, South India. Donor: Mr. A. F. Hutton.
2. The Dusky Striped Squirrel—*Funambulus sublineatus* Waterhouse. Locality: Nilgiri-Wynaad, South India. Donor: Mr. A. F. Hutton.
3. The Indian Giant Squirrel—*Ratufa indica indica* (Erxleben)—a total albino. Locality: Mahableshtar (Ca 4500'), Western Ghats, Bombay. Donor: Mr. D. J. Panday.

*Birds:*—36 additions were made and the following deserve special mention:—

1. The Indian Drongo-Cuckoo—*Surniculus lugubris dicruroides* (Hodgson). Locality: Thana, Bombay. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
2. The Eastern Wood-pigeon—*Columba palumbus casiotis* Bonaparte. Locality: Dhami. Donor: The Raja of Dhami.
3. The Steppe-Eagle—*Aquila nipalensis* Hodgson. Locality: Hissar, East Punjab. Donor: Mr. R. K. Chowdry.



4. The Pamirs Lesser Sand-Plover—*Cirrepedesmus mongolus artifrons* (Wagler). Locality: North Kanara, Bombay State. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
5. The Coot—*Fulica atra atra* Linnaeus—an albino. Locality: Nasik, Bombay State. Donor: Mr. M. R. S. Captain.

*Reptiles*:—3 lizards and 22 snakes were added.

The snake additions included two male specimens of the Rough-tailed Earth-snake—*Uropeltis macrolepis* (Peters)—collected at Mahableshwar and donated by Mr. D. J. Panday. These resembled the one recorded as localized to Mahableshwar at the suggestion of Dr. Smith in J.B.N.H.S., Vol. 50, p. 950 in their unbroken yellowish stripes on the sides and lepidosis including the subcaudal count of more than 10 (12-13) scales instead of 7-10, (Smith's Fauna Volume III, p. 79). On the strength of these two specimens a further note confirming the localization of this striped variety to Mahableshwar was published in J. B. N. H. S., Vol. 51, p. 512.

*Amphibians*:—As against 20 additions last year as many as 105 were made during the year under review which was chiefly due to the keen interest evinced by Mr. Humayun Abdulali whose collections included the hitherto undescribed tadpoles of *Rana leithii* Boulenger from Suriamal, North Thana, Bombay State. These were recorded for the first time in J.B.N.H.S., Vol. 51, p. 512.

*Fish*:—320 specimens were added, a majority of which were donated by Mrs. M. R. S. Captain to whom our grateful thanks are due.

*Insects*:—Only 5 additions marked the year, under this head.

### Public Galleries

A major part of the work on these galleries, was that of renovation of the existing groups and the exhibits while arrangements for the display of a few additional exhibits in each, were made.

*Mammal Gallery*:—All the Habitat Groups were retouched and renovated. The following specimen was put up as an additional exhibit:—

The Small Indian Civet—*Viverricula indica* Desmarest.

Locality: Ghatkopar, Bombay. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.

*Bird Gallery*:—The following exhibits were added:—

1. The Kora or Water-Cock—*Gallicrex cinerea* (Gmelin).  
Locality: Thana, Bombay. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
2. The Jungle Bush-Quail—*Perdica asiatica* (Latham)—5.  
Locality: Thana, Bombay. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
3. The Common Bustard-Quail—*Turnix suscitator taijoor*  
(Sykes). Locality: Thana, Bombay. Donor: Mr. Humayun  
Abdulali.
4. The Common Indian Sand-Grouse—*Pterocles exustus*  
*elliotti* Bogdanov. Locality: Poona District. Donor:  
Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
5. The Red-winged Bush-Lark—*Mirafra erythroptera* Blyth.  
Locality: Poona District. Donor: Mr. Humayun Abdulali.
6. The Gadwall—*Anas streperus* Linnaeus. Locality: Nasik,  
Donor: Mr. P. J. Delarosiere.

*Reptiles, Amphibians & Fish Gallery*:—The following exhibits marked additions in this Gallery:—

1. The Green Turtle—*Chelonia mydas* (Linnaeus). Locality:  
Karachi.
2. The Gerard's Watersnake—*Gerardia prevostiana* (Eydoux  
& Gervais). Locality: Chembur, Bombay. Donor. Mr.  
Humayun Abdulali.
3. The Gourami—*Osphronemus goramy* (Lacepede). Locality:  
Bombay. (Purchased locally).
4. The Zebra Shark—*Stegostoma tigrinum* (Gmelin). Loca-  
lity: Bombay. (Purchased locally).
5. The Mrigal—*Cirrhina mrigala* (Hamilton). Locality: Bandra  
Tank. Donor: Director of Fisheries.
6. The Rohu—*Labeo rohita* (Hamilton). Locality: Bandra Tank,  
Bombay. Donor: Director of Fisheries.

Our thanks are due to Dr. S. B. Setna and Dr. C. V. Kulkarni of the Fisheries Department, Bombay, for their constant help and guidance in matters relating to fish.

#### *Invertebrate Gallery*

Work on this gallery is at a standstill. This gallery continues to house the reptilian and entomological reference collections for want of suitable alternative accommodation. Plans and material are, however, ready.



### *Expedition & Exploration*

No large expeditions were undertaken during the year under report but some week-end collecting trips to the hilly suburbs of Bombay resulted in a few additions to the existing research collections.

### *Assistance to individuals & Institutions*

The Section continues to do good work in this respect. Help and assistance were readily extended to the persons deputed by various Institutions to learn skinning birds and mammals and preserving zoological material.

Facilities were afforded to visiting scientists and research students for consulting the reference collections. It may be mentioned in this connection that Mr. G. Frey and his party from Munich, Germany interested in the Carabidae (Beetles) were shown, in March 1953, all the Indian representatives of this group, from the collections.

Guided tours round the Galleries were provided for students from colleges and schools as also other visitors who so desired.

Natural History specimens sent in for identification and report were promptly attended to.

### *Nature Education Scheme of Bombay Natural History Society*

This scheme which has completed five years of its existence has been doing commendable work in the cause of nature education which is at a low ebb particularly in the primary and high school stages. About 9,000 children and 2,000 teachers from various city schools have been participating in excursions, nature-talks, film shows, etc., organised from time to time under the scheme. About 20,000 school-children were led round the galleries, exhibits therein having been explained to them in Indian languages.

Nature Clubs inaugurated during the year under review, in various schools, have been flourishing well.

Plans to extend the benefit of this scheme to the entire State of Bombay have been under contemplation of the Nature Education Committee. The Nature Education Organiser, Mr. M. R. Raut, paid visits to Poona and Ahmedabad in this connection. The Natural History Section of the Museum forms an indispensable basis for this valuable scheme.

*Publications*

Mr. V. K. Chari published the following notes in the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society:—

1. Bull Frog (*Rana tigrina* Daud.) preying upon the Common Toad (*Bufo melanostictus* Schneid.): Vol. 50, p. 679.
2. Localization of the striped variety of the Rough-tailed Earth-snake — *Uropeltis macrolepis* (Peters) — to Mahableshwar: Vol. 50, p. 950.
3. The Tadpoles of *Rana leithii* Boulenger (with a plate): Vol. 51, p. 512.
4. Some More Notes on *Uropeltis macrolepis* (Peters) with special reference to specimens from Mahableshwar: Vol. 51, p. 512.



# APPENDIX A

## A LIST OF COINS ACQUIRED DURING 1952-53.

Name of Dynasty	Presented			Purchased		
	Gold	Silver	Copper	Gold	Silver	Copper
<i>Indian</i>						
Gupta	—	—	—	22	—	—
Sultans of Delhi & Gujarat	—	—	262	—	—	—
Mughal	—	13	—	—	—	—
Orchha State	—	8	—	—	—	—
Radhanpur	—	53	—	—	—	—
Total	—	147	262	22	—	—
	409			22		
	431					

# APPENDIX B

## LIST OF BOOKS DURING THE YEAR 1952-53.

### ARCHAEOLOGY

1. Civilization, by Clive Bell.
- 2-4. Taxila, Vols. I; II; III, by Sir John Marshall.
5. Prehistory in India, by F. E. Zeuner.
6. The Age of Man, by H. F. Osborn.
7. Varendra Research Society's Monograph No. 8.

### EPIGRAPHY

8. Indian Palaeography, Pt. 1, by R. B. Pandey.

### GUIDES

9. Handbook on the International Exchange of Publications, UNESCO Publication.
10. Bidar—Its History and Monuments, by Yazdani.

11. Banaras and Sarnath—Past and Present, by Prof. A. S. Altekar.
12. A short Guide-Book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, by V. S. Agarwala.
13. Dilwara Temples, Govt. of India publication.

#### HISTORY

14. Bharatvarsha Ka Bruhad Itihasa, Pt. I (Hindi), by Pt. Bhagawaddatt.
15. Studies in Mediaeval Indian History, by P. Saran.
16. Introduction to Brief History of Varendra (North Bengal), by K. C. Sarkar.
17. Inspired writings of Hinduism, by T. Goldstucker.
18. Heritage of India, by Max Muller.
19. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, by W. H. Schoff.
20. Hiouen-Tsang in India, Tr. by Laura Ensor.
21. Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, Ed. by K. A. Nilkanta Shastri.
22. Elliot & Dowson's History of India, Vol. II.
23. The Panjab under the Mughals, by Muhamed Akbar.
24. Bibliography of Indological Studies, 1943.

#### LITERATURE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

25. Mahabharata, Santiparvan, Moksadharma, Pt. 2, Fasc. 23.
26. Buddhism, Its Essence and development, by Edward Conze.
27. Diseases of Alimentary System (in Gujarati), Gujarat Research Society's Health pamphlet.
28. Neuirland and Nachbarinseln.
29. Die Inseln Nias und Mentawai.
30. Neu-Caledonien und die Loyalty-Inseln.
31. Sumatra.
32. Salomonen.
33. Celebes.
34. Kunststile in der Sudsee.
35. New-Britannien.
36. Alt-Mexiko.
37. Indians of the Montana, by Harry Tschopik, Jr.
38. Nachrichten Fur Natur-und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, No. 72, June 1952.
39. How old is the Earth? Science Answers the Question.
40. Kinrei-Zuka-Old tomb at Kisarazu in the Province of Kazusa.

#### MEMOIRS

41. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 61, Excavation at Agroha, Punjab, by H. L. Srivastava.
42. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 70, The Gupta Temple at Deogadh, by Pt. M. S. Vats.



## NUMISMATICS

43. Bibliography of Indian Coins, Pt. II (Muhammedan & Later Series), Compiled by C. R. Singhal.
44. The Early History of Currency in Australia, Bank of New South Wales publication.

## REPORTS

45. Report of the Exhibition Committee of Gujerat Sanskriti Pradarshan.
46. Pitt Rivers Museum Report, year ending 31-7-51.
- 47-48. Administration Report of the Govt. Museum, Madras etc., 1950-51; 1951-52.
49. Centenary Souvenir (1851-1951)—Madras Govt. Museum.
50. Annual Report of Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for the year ending March 31, 1950.
51. Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, Vol. VI, pt. 1.
52. All Pakistan History Conference—First Session, Karachi, 1951.
53. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 28th Session, Jaipur.
- 54-56. Triennial Report on coins dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act during 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52.
- 57-58. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1945-46; 1946-47.
59. Report of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, for 1951-52.
- 60-62. Report on the working of the Central Museum, Nagpur, for 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52.
- 63-73. Annual Report of Basler Museum of Volkerkunde, for 1941 to 1951.

## JOURNALS

- 74-75. Journal of the B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. 26, Pt. II, 1951; Vol. 27; Pt. 1, 1951.
- 76-77. Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Vol. VIII, Pt. 3, May 1951; Pt. 4, August 1951.
- 78-81. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 3 & 4; Vol. XL, Nos. 3 & 4; Vol. XLI, No. 2; Nos. 3 & 4.
- 82-84. Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XX, Pt. 4, Jan. 1952; Vol. XXI, Pt. 1, July 1952; Pt. 2, Sept. 1952.
85. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XIII, Decr. 1951, Pt. 2.
86. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., Vol. II, Pt. 1.
- 87-88. Art & Letters, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1952; No. 2, 1952.
- 89-92. South Australian Numismatic Journal, Vol. III, No. 1; No. 2; No. 3; No. 4.
- 93-94. Samshodhak, Year 19, Pts. 3 & 4; Year 20, Pts. 1 to 4.
- 95-99. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Sept. 1951; No. 4, Decr. 1951; Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, March 1952; No. 2, June 1952; No. 3, Sept. 1952.

100. The Periodical, Vol. XXIX, No. 237, 1952.
101. Bulletin of the Baroda Museum & Picture Gallery, Vol. VI, Pts. 1-2, 1948-49.
- 102-04. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, Pt. VII, July 1942; Pt. VIII, Oct. 1942; Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, Jan. 1949.
- 105-06. Indian Archives, Vol. V, No. 1, Jan.-June 1951; No. 2, July-Decr. 1951.
107. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXXII, 1951.
108. Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, Vol. VI, No. 1.
- 109-10. Poona Orientalist, Vol. XV, Nos. 1 to 4, 1950; Vol. XVI, Nos. 1 to 4, 1951.
111. Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 1, 1950-51.
112. Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Sept. 1951, Vol. X, No. 2.
- 113-16. Journal of the Gujerat Research Society, Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 & 3, April-July 1946; Vol. XIII, No. 3, July 1951; Vol. XIII, No. 1, Jan. 1952; Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1952.
- 117-140. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, 1836—Pts. III & IV; 1858—Vol. III, Pt. II & Vol. IV, Pt. II; 1898—Pts. I to IV; 1900—Pt. I; Pt. IV; 1902—Pt. III; Pt. IV; 1910—Pt. I; Pts. III & IV; 1914—Pt. II; Pt. IV; 1923—Pts. I to IV; 1924—Pt. I to IV; 1929—Pt. IV; 1930—Pts. I to IV; 1932—Pts. II to IV; 1937—Pts. I to IX; 1940—Pts. I to III; 1944—Pts. III & IV; 1945—Pts. III & IV; 1947—Pts. III & IV; 1949—Pts. I & II; 1950—Pts. III & IV; 1951—Pts. I & II.

### APPENDIX C

#### LIST OF ACQUISITIONS IN ART SECTION DURING THE YEAR 1952-53. *Textiles.*

1. No. 52.2. Aurangābād sārī, Aurangabad work; 18th century.  
The field is decorated with diagonal panels, containing figures of animals and floral sprays.
2. No. 52.3. Paṭolā sārī, Patan work. Circa: 1850 A.D.  
The field is divided into vertical panels decorated with floral of animals.
3. No. 52.4. Kashmīr Rumāl. Kashmīr work. Early 19th century.  
The magenta field is decorated with floral sprays and figures scrolls and flowers.
4. No. 52.5. Jarī Shawl. Surat work; 19th century.  
The field is divided into vertical panels richly embroidered with floral scrolls, chevrons and lozenges.
5. No. 52.47. Kashmīr shawl. Kashmīr work.  
It consists of several pieces of old shawls stitched together.
6. No. 52.48. Kashmīr shawl piece. Kashmīr work; late 18th century.  
White ground decorated with flowers.



7. No. 52.49. Yellow Kashmir shawl. Kashmir work. Early 19th century.  
The corners are decorated with Persian cones and the field is decorated with *Kalangi* and other floral patterns.
8. No. 52.50 Aurangābād Sārī. Aurangābād work; late 18th century.  
The field is decorated with arabesque; borders decorated with floral meanders alternating with rosettes and parrots.

## PAINTINGS.

1. No. 52.6. Ladies swinging. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; late 18th century.  
The painting depicts Rājā Rāghodeva mounted on elephant witnessing the ladies swinging.
2. No. 52.7. Rājā holding a Durbār. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; late 18th century.  
In the scene Rājā is shown enjoying dance and music.
3. No. 52.8. Drinking scene. Mixed Rājput-Mughal School; early 18th century.  
The heroine is shown enjoying drinks plied to her by attendants.
4. No. 52.9. The heroine writing a letter. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; late 18th century.  
The heroine is shown writing a letter attended by musicians.
5. No. 52.10. Kṛishṇa dressed as Rādhā and vice versa. Rājasthānī School, Būndi; Dated Samvat 1837-1780 A.D.  
In a rocky landscape Kṛishṇa and Rādhā are shown having changed their garments.
6. No. 52.11. Portrait of a lady with a lotus flower. Mughal School, Delhi; early 18th century.
7. No. 52.12. Kṛishṇa and Rādhā in a sportive attitude.  
Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; early 18th century.
8. No. 52.13. Kṛishṇa attracting Gōpīs by his music.  
Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; middle of the 17th century.  
The picture illustrates a verse from the *Sūra-sāgara*. Kṛishṇa is shown dancing the playing on the flute which has attracted a large number of gōpīs and cows.
9. No. 52.14. A lady, child and a musician. Rājasthānī School (probably Udaipur); late 18th century.  
The lady is accompanied by a child is proceeding to a Śiva temple.
10. No. 52.15. Mother and the babe. Rājasthānī School (probably Udaipur); late 18th century.
11. No. 52.16. Mother and the babe. Rājasthānī School (probably Udaipur); middle of the 18th century.  
The mother is seated in the centre.
12. No. 52.17. Portrait of a lady holding the branch of a tree. Rājasthānī School (probably Udaipur); middle of the 18th century.
13. No. 52.18. Dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; early 18th century.  
The scene is laid in a grove.
14. No. 52.19. Ladies enjoying *huqqa*. Rājasthānī School, Būndi; early 18th century.

15. No. 52.20 Water-sport. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; early 18th century.  
The scene is laid on the banks of the Yamunā.
16. No. 52.21. Portrait of Tānsen. Mughal School, Delhi; early 17th century.
17. No. 52.22. Portrait of Nawāb Fidāī Khān Bahādur. Mughal School, Delhi;  
Middle of the 18th century.
18. No. 52.23. Kṛishṇa enjoying bath in the Yamunā with the *gopis*. Rājasthānī  
School, Būndī; Early 18th century.
19. No. 52.24. Lady lying on a bed surrounded by attendants. Rājasthānī  
School, Mārwar; middle of the 17th century.
20. No. 52.25. Hunting scene. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur. Samvat 1865 =  
1808 A.D.
21. No. 52.26. A prince with his women enjoying a picnic under a tent. Mughal  
School, Delhi; Circa 1675 A.D.
22. No. 52.27. Portrait of a lady proceeding to meet her beloved in the dark  
night. Mughal School, Delhi; middle of the 18th century.
23. No. 52.28. Lady offering *Arghya* to the sun. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur;  
middle of the 18th century.
24. No. 52.29. A woman visiting a Sufi Saint. Mughal School, Delhi; Circa  
1650 A.D.
25. No. 52.30. Kṛishṇa returning home with the cows. Rājasthānī School,  
Būndī; late 18th century.
26. No. 52.31. Love scene. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; late 18th century.
27. No. 52.32. Kṛishṇa milking a cow. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; late 18th  
century.
28. No. 52.33. Kṛishṇa pulling his beloved towards him. Rājasthānī School,  
Būndī; late 18th century.
29. No. 52.34. Lunar eclipse. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; Circa, 1740 A.D.
30. No. 52.35. Night scene. Kṛishṇa sitting with his beloved. Rājasthānī School,  
Būndī; end of the 18th century.
31. No. 52.36. Kṛishṇa dragging his beloved by the end of her veil. Rājasthānī  
School, Būndī; late 18th century. Painted by Chokhā.
32. No. 52.37. Portrait of Khwājā Abul Hasan. Mughal School, Delhi; 1st  
quarter of the 17th century.
33. No. 52.38. Portrait of a lady with her hands interlocked over her head.  
Rājasthānī School, Jaipur; middle of the 18th century.
34. No. 52.39. Yogī playing flute before a lady. Mughal School, Delhi; middle  
of the 18th century.
35. No. 52.40. An attendant offering wine to a lady. Deccani School, probably  
Bijapur; Circa 1630 A.D.
36. No. 52.41. Elephant riders with attendants. Rājasthānī School, probably  
Udaipur; middle of the 17th century.
37. No. 52.42. Rāginī Gauḍ Malhār. Mughal School, Delhi; early 18th century.
38. No. 52.43. Portrait of a lady with birds. Rājasthānī School, Mārwar; End  
of the 18th century.
39. No. 52.44. Line drawing portrait of a nobleman. Mughal School, Delhi;  
early 17th century.



40. No. 52.45. Portrait of a lady with a parrot. Mughal School, Delhi; middle of the 18th century.
41. No. 52.46. Portrait of a lady. Mughal School, Delhi; middle of the 17th century.
42. No. 53.1. Portrait of Ghairab Khān, Subedar of Bengal, Mughal School, Delhi; end of the 17th century.
43. No. 53.2. A couple in a garden. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; middle of the 18th century.
44. No. 53.3. Portrait of Rājā Manrūpji. Deccani School, Bijāpur; Middle of the 17th century.
45. No. 53.4. Portrait of Shāistā Khān. Mughal School, Delhi; middle of the 17th century. Painted by Ustad Jīvan.
46. No. 53.5. Rāgīnī Tōḍī. Rājasthānī School, probably Būndī; middle of the 18th century.
47. No. 53.6. Portrait of Nawāb Āsaf Khan of Lucknow. Mughal School, Delhi; middle of the 17th century.
48. No. 53.7. Rāgīnī Guṇakālī. Rājasthānī School, probably Udaipur; middle of the 18th century.
49. No. 53.8. Toilet scene. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; late 18th century.
50. No. 53.9. Rāgīnī Tōḍī. Rājasthānī School, probably Jaipur, middle of the 18th century.
51. No. 53.10. A lady with pigeons. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; middle of the 18th century.
52. No. 53.11. Woman with a child. Mughal School; early 18th century.
53. No. 53.12. A cat catching a parrot. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; late 18th century.
54. No. 53.13. Heroine resting in a water pavilion. Rājasthānī School, Būndī; middle of the 18th century.
55. No. 53.14. Vishṇu with devotees. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; Circa 1750 A.D. A page from *Bhakti Ratnāvalī*.
56. No. 53.15. Gajendra Mōksha. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; Circa 1750 A.D. A page from *Bhakti Ratnāvalī*.
57. No. 53.16. Congregation of hermits. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; Circa 1750 A.D. A page from *Bhakti Ratnāvalī*.
58. No. 53.17. Kṛishṇa saving cows from the forest-fire. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.
59. No. 53.18. Water-sport. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.
60. No. 53.19. Govardhana Dhāraṇa. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.
61. No. 53.20. Gopīs searching Kṛishṇa in the forest. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.

62. No. 53.21. Nārada cursing the son of Kubera. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.
63. No. 53.22. Reunion of Kṛishṇa and gōpīs. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Bhāgavata*.
64. No. 53.23. Durgā in heaven with attendants. Rājasthānī School, Udaipur; end of the 18th century.  
A page from the *Durgā Saptasatī*.



PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA.  
*Abstract of Income and Expenditure for the Year 1952-53.*  
CURRENT FUND

INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
To Opening Balance :—	14,734	5 8	By Establishment	...	...
Chartered Bank	...	...	Establishment Provident Fund	...	...
Permanent Advance	...	...	Contingent Charges	...	...
	Rs. 14,734	5 8	Stationery	...	...
			Postal & Telegraphic Charges	...	...
			Furniture, Office	...	...
			Washing & Cleaning	...	...
			Electric Energy Charges	...	...
To Municipal Grant	50,000	0 0	Municipal Taxes—Museum Proper	...	...
Government Grant	36,900	0 0	Municipal Taxes—Jehangir Art Gallery	...	...
Admission Fees	15,027	6 0	Publications	...	...
Interest on Current Account	79	0 0	Audit Fees	...	...
Electric Energy Charges—Natural History Section	220	2 0	Telephone	...	...
Municipal Taxes Natural History Section	228	8 0	Membership of Societies	...	...
Municipal Taxes Jehangir Art Gallery	2,349	4 0	Printing of Admission Ticket Books	...	...
Government Grant—Additional towards Dearness Allowance	32,017	8 0	Garden Proper	...	...
Government Grant—Jehangir Art Gallery	4,000	0 0	Garden Special	...	...
Government Grant—Natural History Section	38,604	6 0	Purchase of Books	...	...
Sale proceeds from Museum Garden	1,556	6 0	Labels, etc.	...	...
Sale proceeds of Petty Articles	34	2 0	Printing of Picture Post Cards	...	...
Sale of Catalogues & Picture Post Cards	959	2 0	Photographing etc. of Exhibits	...	...
Establishment, Undisbursed Wages of Ramsunder (deceased)	98	10 0	Rebacking of Pictures	...	...
			Establishment—Dearness Allowance	...	...
			Improvements in Archaeological Galleries	...	...
			Travelling Allowance	...	...
			Livery	...	...
			Loan to Natural History Section	...	...
			Transfer to Building Fund (Tem.)	...	...
			Government Grant—Natural History Section	...	...
			Government Grant—Jehangir Art Gallery	...	...
			By Closing Balance :—	...	...
			Chartered Bank	...	...
			Permanent Advance	...	...
				Rs. 12,943	7 1
				700	0 0
				Rs. ... 13,043	7 1
				Rs. ... 1,96,808	11 8

Bombay, 2nd December 1953.

Examined and found correct,  
Sd. S. A. GOPUJKAR,  
Assistant Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

Sd. MOTI CHANDRA  
Director.

*Director,*  
Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.



**PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA.**  
*Abstract of the Income and Expenditure for the Year 1952-53.*

**BUILDING FUND**

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
To Opening Balance :—	4,324 1 0	By Maintenance—Museum Buildings	5,014 5 6
Imperial Bank...	Rs. ...	" Supervision—Electric Installation	180 0 0
Chartered Bank...	846 11 9	" Maintenance—Electric Installation changing Service from	2,765 0 0
Permanent Advance ...	3,377 5 3	" DC to AC ...	3,809 0 0
	100 0 0	" Fire Hydrants, hose pipes, etc.	26 8 0
	Rs. 4,324 1 0	" Insurance—Servants Quarters	35 11 0
To Interest on Securities	6,390 10 0	" Insurance—Museum Building with contents	3,519 1 0
" Interest on Current Account	11 1 0	" Unforeseen Expenses	50 14 9
" Maintenance, Electric Installation—	530 0 0	" Transfer to Exhibits Fund in adjustment of previous	2,500 0 0
Recoveries from Natural History Section.	95 0 0	" Transfer to Current Fund in adjustment of previous	3,500 0 0
do Special Repairs			
Government grant towards Insurance, of Museum Buildings with contents	3,519 0 0		
Transfer from Reserve Fund to meet deficit	1,500 0 0	By Closing Balance :—	Rs. ...
Transfer from Reserve Fund towards changing Electric Services from DC to AC	3,809 0 0	Imperial Bank...	Rs. ...
Transfer from Current Fund (Tom.)	3,500 0 0	Chartered Bank	1,957 5 9
Maintenance—Museum Buildings—Transfer from Reserve Fund being cost of Cement used for the Compound Wall	75 13 6	Permanent Advance	286 11 6
			100 0 0
			Rs. ... 2,344 1 3
Securities with Banks. Rs. 1,78,700.	Rs. ... 23,744 9 6		Rs. ... 23,744 9 6
RESERVE FUND		RESERVE FUND	
To Opening Balance :—	14,328 9 3	By Purchase of Securities or Unforeseen expenditure	9,775 0 0
Imperial Bank...	Rs. ...	" Transfer to Building Fund to meet deficit	1,500 0 0
Chartered Bank	2,865 13 3	" Repairs to Compound Wall	495 13 6
	11,462 12 0	" Transfer to Building Fund—Changing Electric Service from DC to AC	3,809 0 0
	Rs. 14,328 9 3	" Transfer to Exhibits Fund...	4,950 0 0
To Interest on Securities	21,414 0 0	" Transfer to Current Fund Temporary	10,500 0 0
" Interest on Current Account	27 1 0		31,029 13 6
Transfer from Provident Fund in adjustment of previous	3,000 0 0	By Closing Balance :—	7,739 12 9
Transfer		Imperial Bank...	Rs. ...
		Chartered Bank	2,973 7 3
			4,766 5 6
			Rs. ... 7,739 12 9
Amount of Securities held (face value) Rs. 4,38,000.	Rs. ... 38,769 10 3		Rs. ... 38,769 10 3

Bombay, 2nd December 1953.

Examined and found correct.

Sd. S. A. GOPUJKAR

Assistant Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

Sd. MOTI CHANDRA,

Director,

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.



**PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA**  
**ABSTRACT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1952-53.**  
**EXHIBITS FUND.**

INCOME.	Rs. a. p.		EXPENDITURE.		Rs. a. p.	
	Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.
To Opening Balance :—	4,173	11 5	By Purchase and Conveyance of Exhibits	...	...	11,700 0 0
Imperial Bank	Rs. a. p.		By Closing Balance :—	...	...	6,644 0 11
Chartered Bank	399 12 10		Imperial Bank	...	Rs. a. p.	
	3,773 14 7		Chartered Bank	...	911 14 10	
	4,173 11 5			...	5,732 2 1	
To Interest on Securities	6,701	10 0		Rs. a. p.	6,644 0 11	
" Interest on current Account	6	7 0				
" Purchase and Conveyance of Exhibits—Re-						
fund of unspent balance from Mamlatdar	12	4 6				
of Mohasana	4,950	0 0				
" Transfer from Reserve Fund	2,500	0 0				
" Transfer from Building Fund in adjustment						
of previous Transfer	18,344	0 11				
	Rs. ...				Rs. ...	18,344 0 11
Amount of Securities held (face value) Rs. 1,94,200.						

**PROVIDENT FUND.**

	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.
To Opening Balance—Chartered Bank	10,044	12 10	By Payment to subscribers (including loans)	...	22,920 0 0
" Subscribers Contributions (including repayment of Loans)	16,101	5 0	" Transfer to Reserve Fund in adjustment of previous	...	3,000 0 0
" Proceeds of the Matured Insurance Policy of Mr. A. R. Sarangam	1,474	0 0	Transfer	...	...
" Interest on Securities	2,164	15 0	Payment to Mr. A. R. Sarangam (after deducting the	...	894 2 0
" Interest on Current Account...	11	9 0	insurance premiums paid on his behalf)	...	...
" Boards Contribution	5,301	4 0			
	Rs. ...		By Closing Balance : Chartered Bank	...	26,814 2 0
Amount of Securities held (face value) Rs. 1,54,000.	35,097	13 10		...	8,283 11 10
	Rs. ...			Rs. ...	35,097 13 10

**JEHANGIR ART**

	Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.
To Opening Balance—Chartered Bank	3,999	12 3	By Payments in connection with the construction of the	...	27,978 6 0
" Donations from Sir Cowasjee Jehangir	1,18,500	0 0	Jehangir Art Gallery	...	...
" Interest on Current Account	21	2 0	By Closing Balance : Chartered Bank	...	94,542 8 3
	Rs. ...			Rs. ...	1,22,520 14 3

Bombay, 2nd December 1953.

Examined and found correct.

Sd. S. A. GOPUJIKAR,

Assistant Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

Sd. MOTI CHANDRA

Director,

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

NATURAL HISTORY SECTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

*Receipts and Payments Account for the Period 1.4.1952 to 31st March 1953.*

[illegible]

Examined and found correct.

S. A. GOPUJKAR,

**Assistant Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.**

10th December 1952.

B. A. DALAL

Chairman,

Natural History Section,  
Prince of Wales Museum.



**NATURAL HISTORY SECTION, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM.**  
*Abstract of Receipts and Payments for the Year 1952-53.*  
**STAFF PROVIDENT FUND**

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	a. p.	PAYMENTS.	Rs.	a. p.
To Bank Balance on 1st April 1952	...	4,843 15 11	By Loans to Subscribers	...	...
" Subscribers' Contributions	...	...	" Forfeiture of Board's Contribution—repaid into Natural History Section Current Fund	...	...
" Board's Contribution	...	1,269 6 0	" Closing Balance with the Chartered Bank :	Rs. a. p.	1,747 0 0
" Interest on Securities	...	752 5 0	Balance as per pass book	...	...
" Interest on Loans to Subscribers	...	27 15 0	Add : 1) Amount paid in but wrongly credited to current Fund A/c.	...	65 0 0
" Loans repaid by Subscribers...	...	2,335 0 0	2) Cheque paid in but not cleared	...	1,258 1 0
				Rs. ...	8,024 8 11
				Rs. ...	10,497 15 11
<b>Securities held on 1st April 1953 :</b>					
3% Conversion Loan 1946	...	21,000			
3% First Development Loan 1970/75	...	3,700			
	Rs. ...	24,700			

Bombay, 10th November 1953.

Examined and found correct,  
Sd. S. A. GOPUJKAR,  
Examiner, Local Fund Accounts.

B. A. DALAL  
Chairman

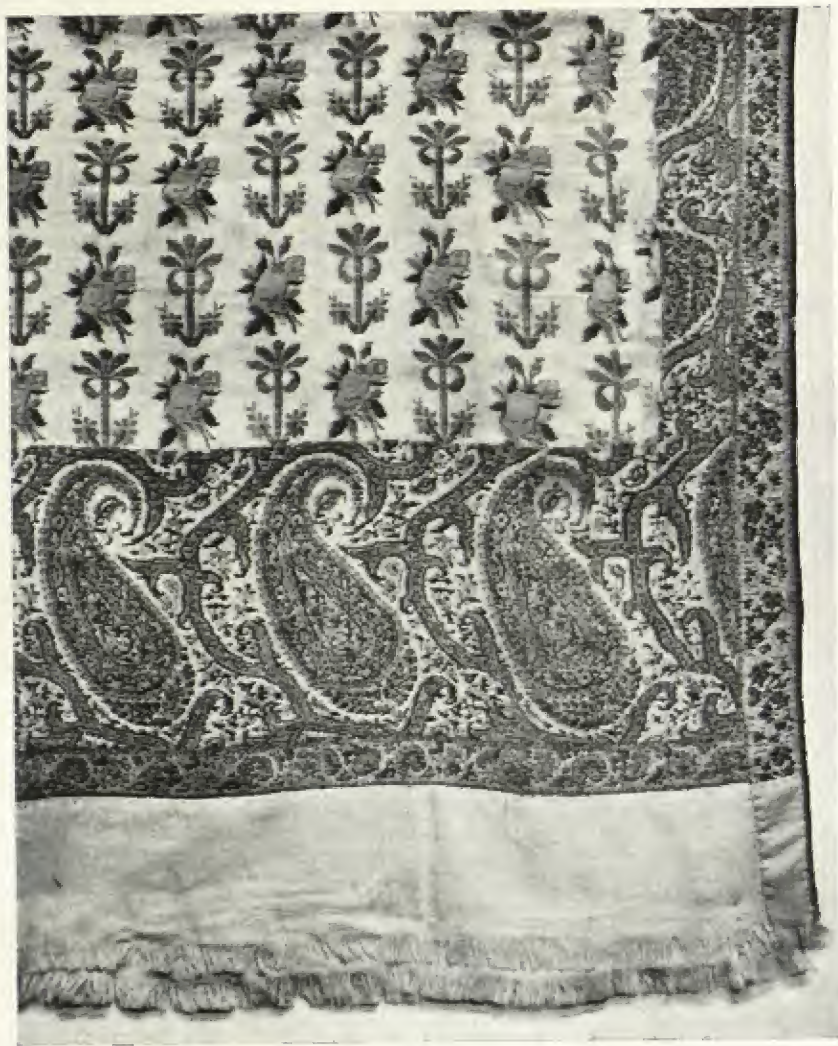






Fig. 1.  
Kashmir Shawl. Late 18th century.

Plate II



51.27.

Fig. 2.  
*Kashmir Shawl.*  
Middle of the 18th century.



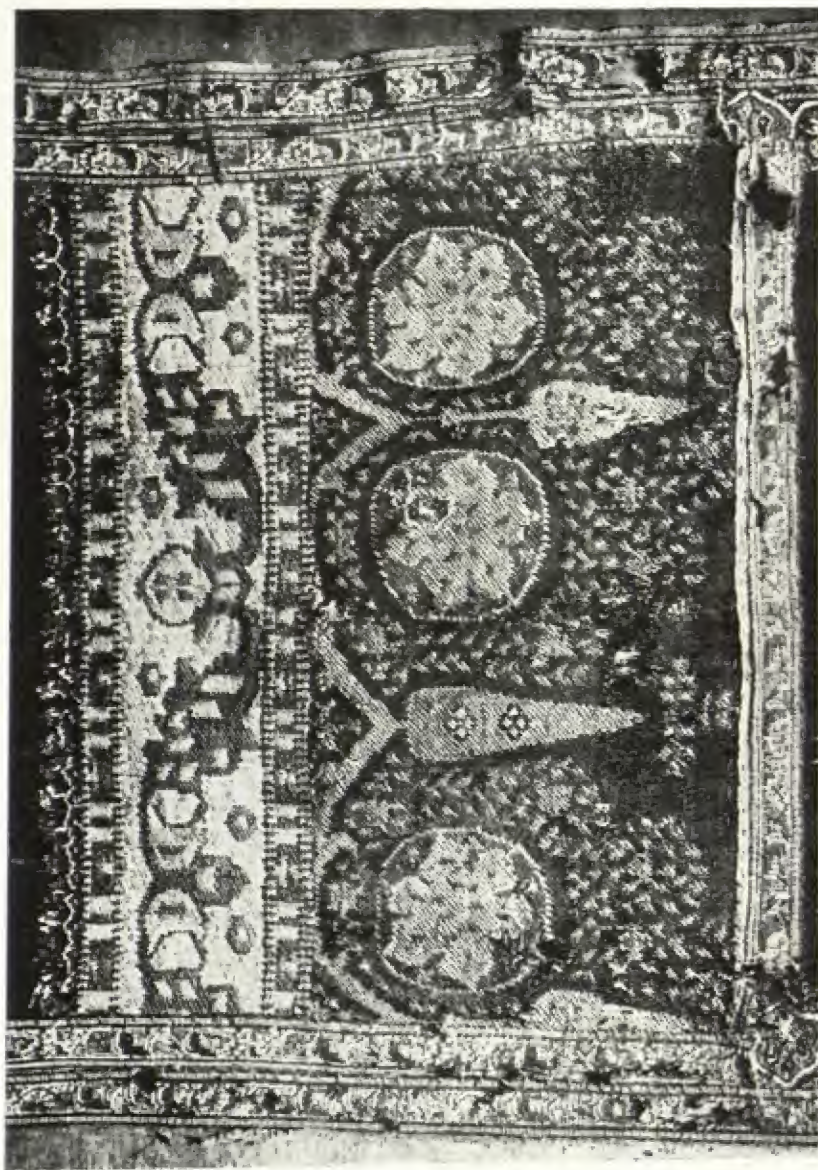
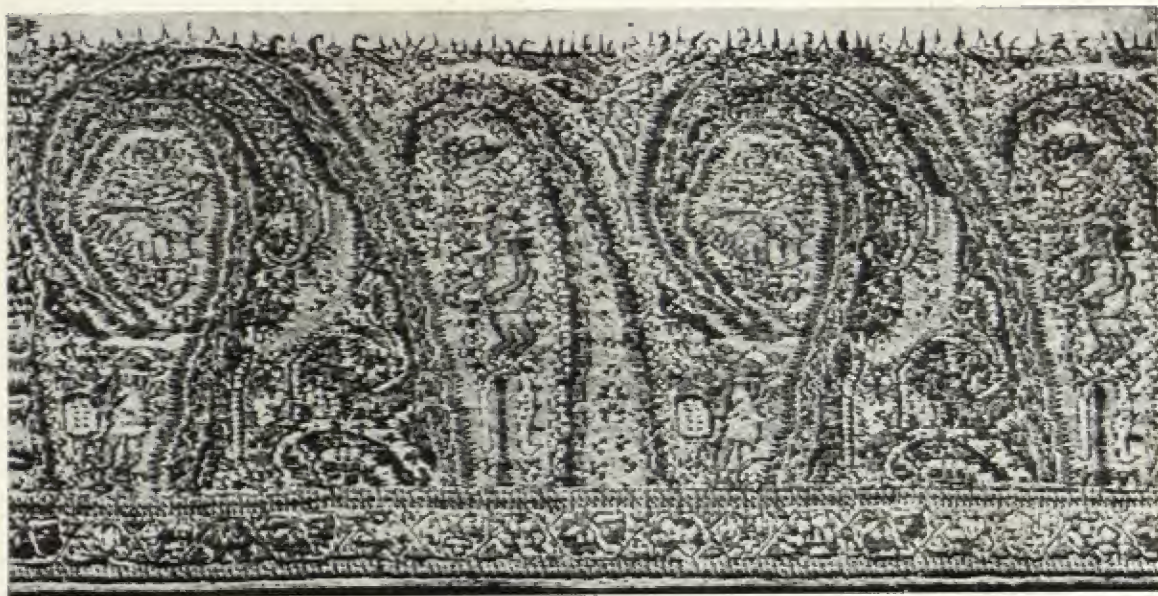


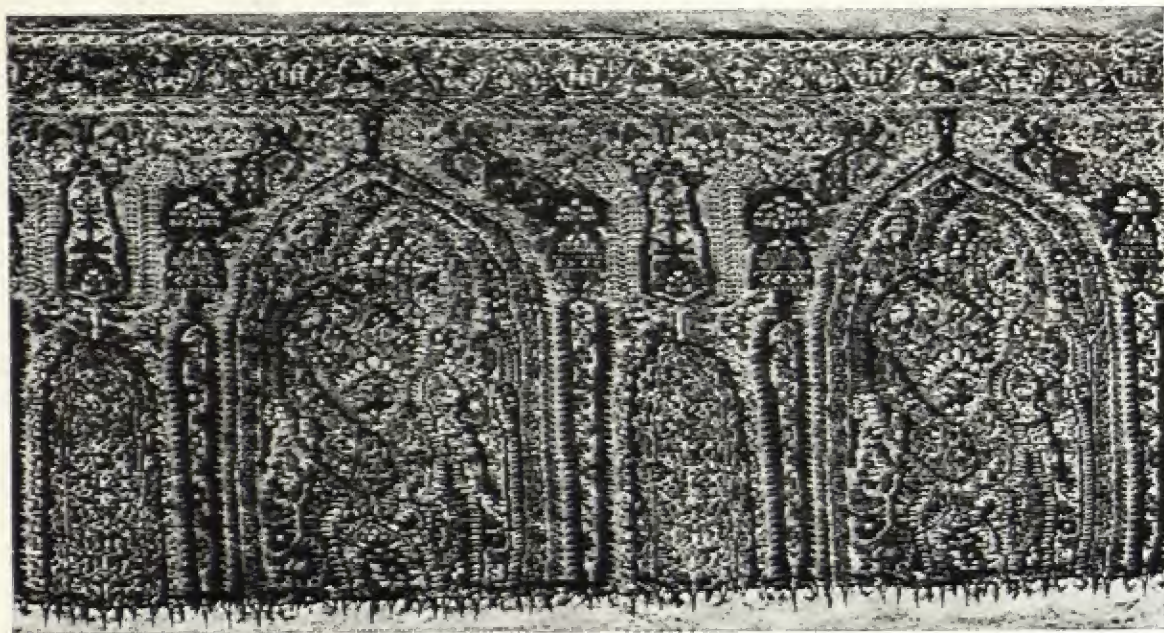
Fig. 3.  
Woolen Sash,  
18th century.





22.3130.

Fig. 4. a.  
*Hunting Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.



22.3130.

Fig. 4. b.  
*Hunting Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.



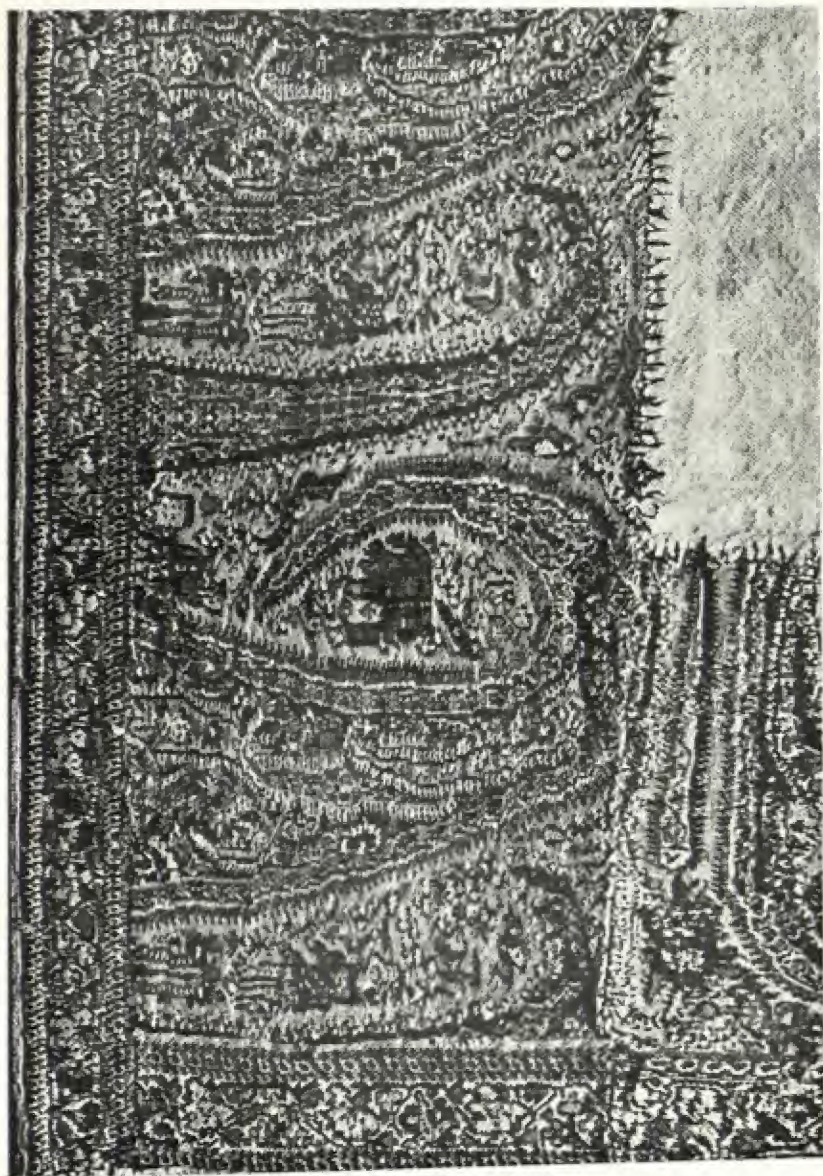


Fig. 4. c.  
*Hunting Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.

22.3130.



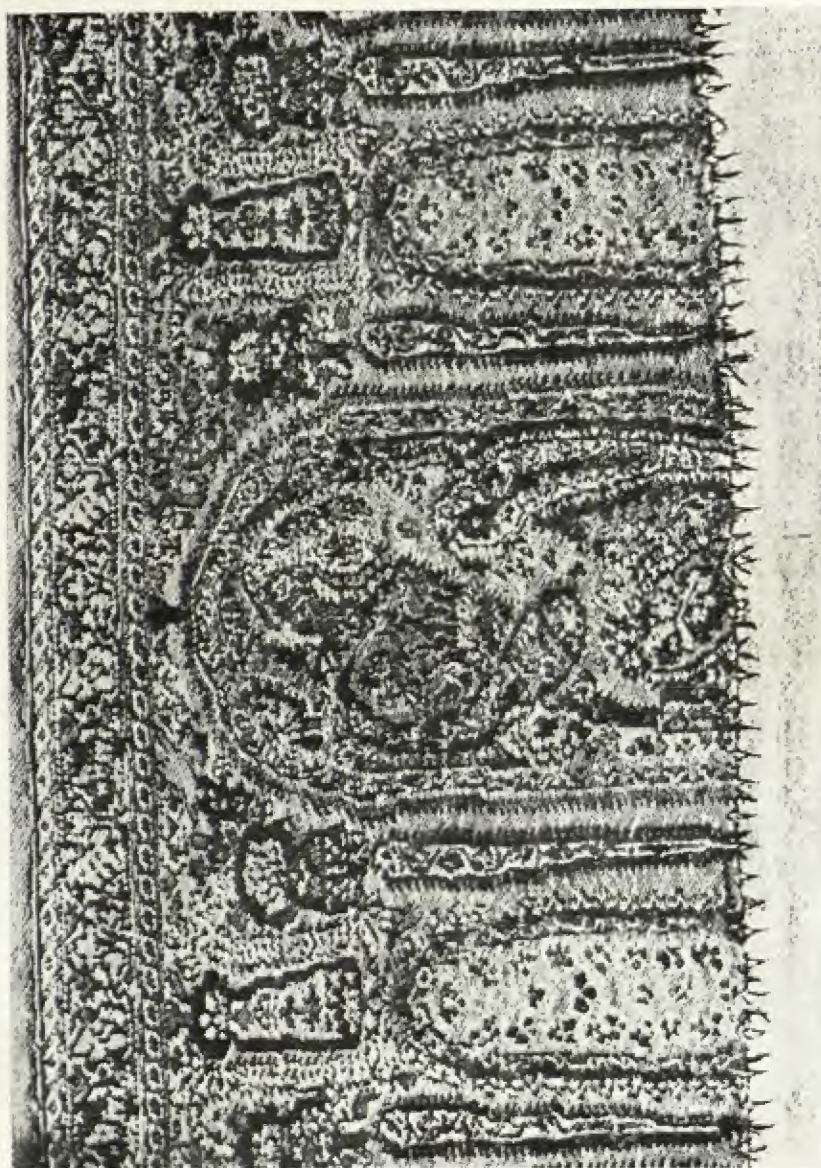
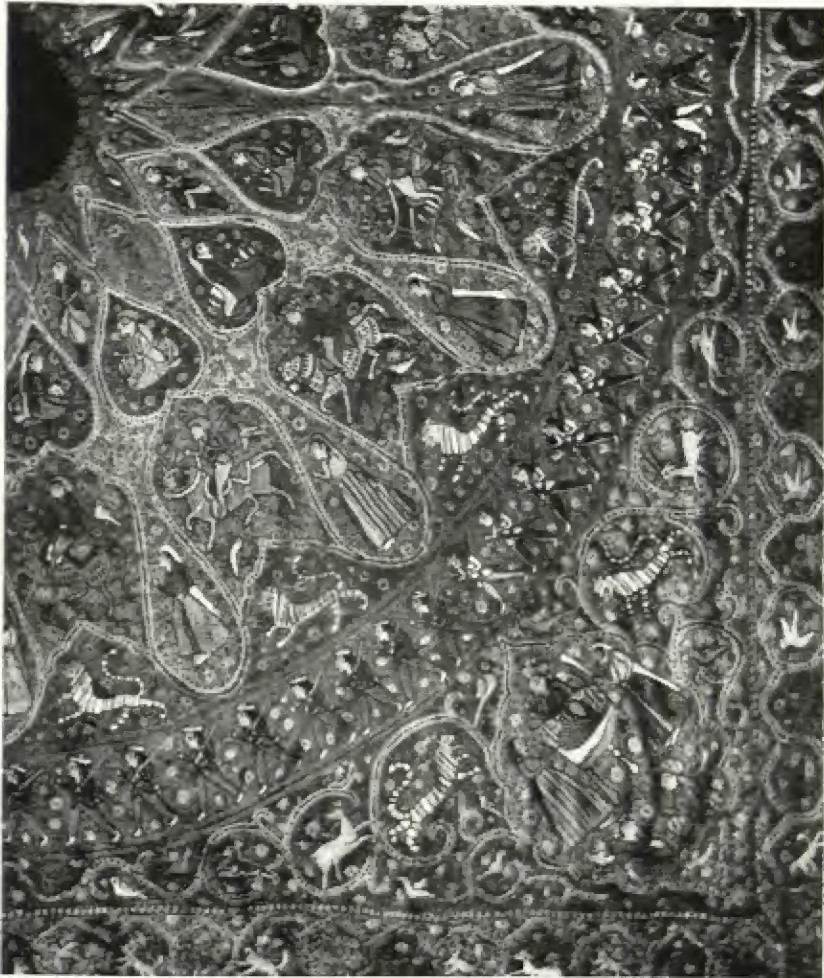


Fig. 4. d.  
*Hunting Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.

22.3130.





53.38.

Fig. 5.  
*Shikārgāh Shawl.*  
Beginning of the 19th century.  
(Probably Kulu Work.)



Fig. 6.  
*Border of an old Kashmir Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.



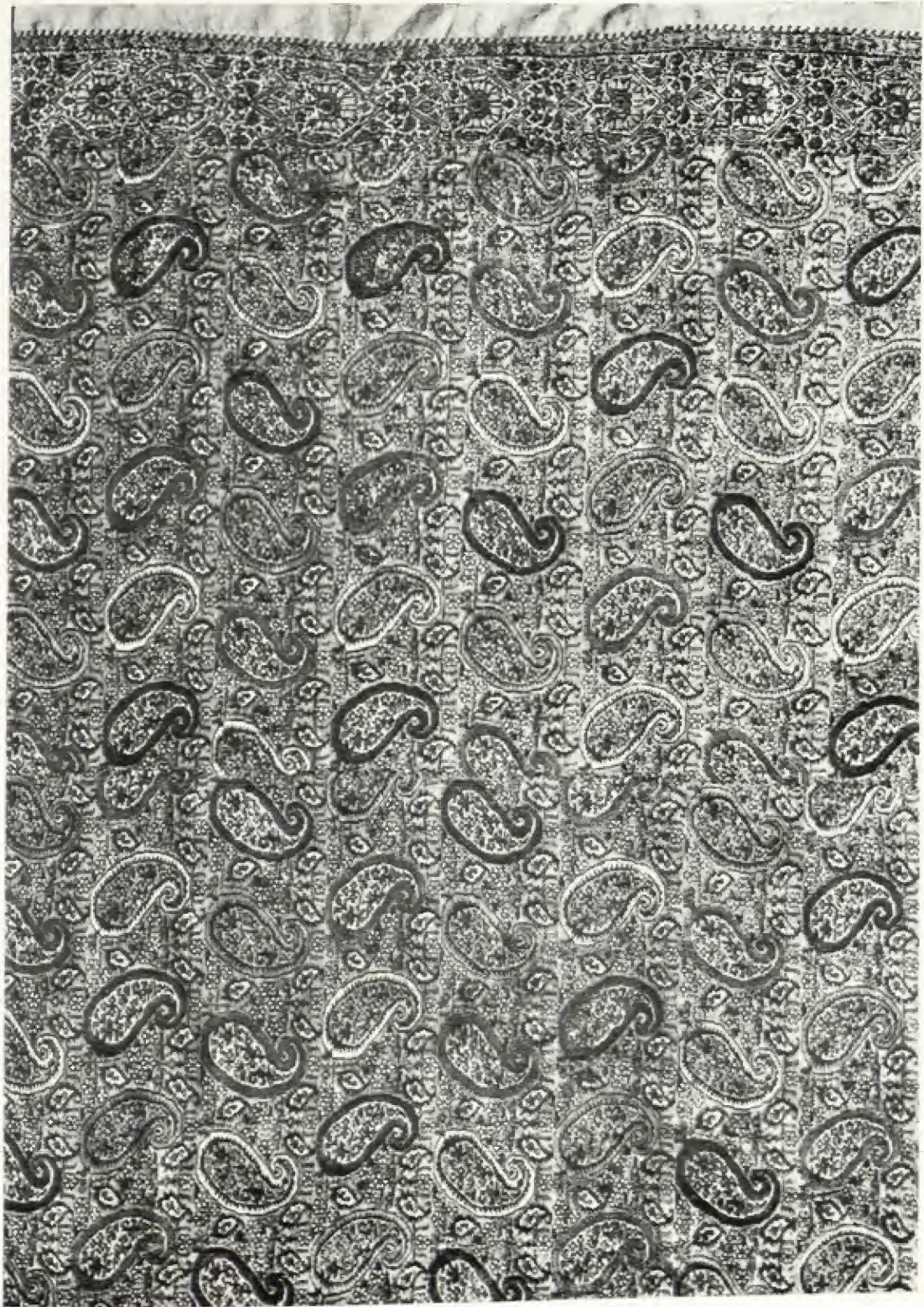


Fig. 7.  
Kashmir Rumāl.  
Late 18th century.



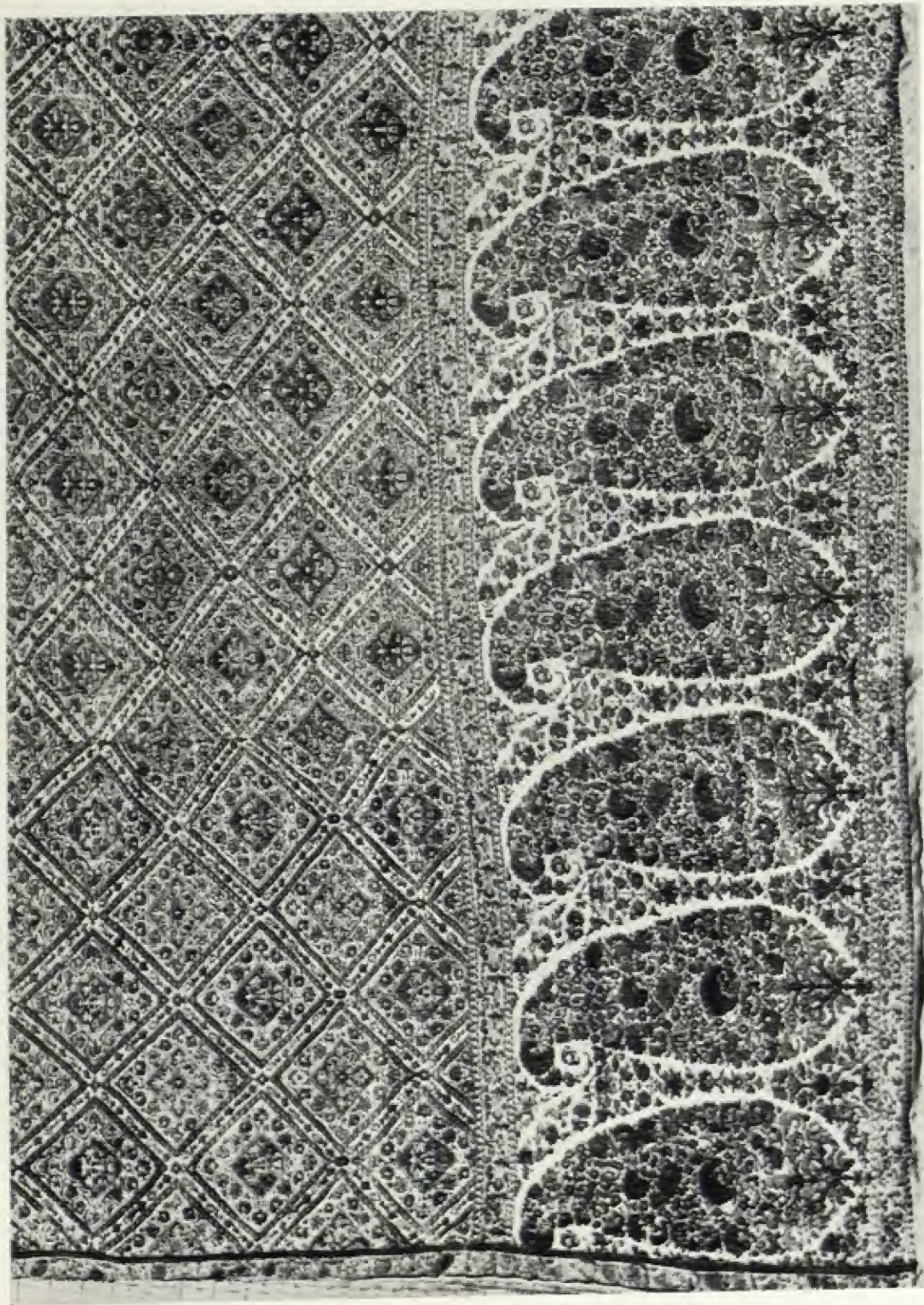


Fig. 8.  
*Kashmir Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.





22.3222.

Fig. 9.  
*Netted Kashmir Shawl.*  
Early 19th Century.





22.3131.

Fig. 10.  
*Kashmir Shawl.*  
Middle of the 18th century.





22.3139.

Fig. 11.  
*Embroidered Kashmir Shawl.*  
Late 18th century.





52.35.

Fig. 12.  
*Embroidered Kashmir Shawl,*  
Early 19th century.





53.69

Fig. 13.  
*Muslim Ladies Visiting a Saint.*  
Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



53.76

Fig. 14.  
*Lailā and Majnūn.*  
Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



Plate XVII



53.12.

Fig. 15.

*Cat Stealing a Parrot.*

Rājasthāni School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



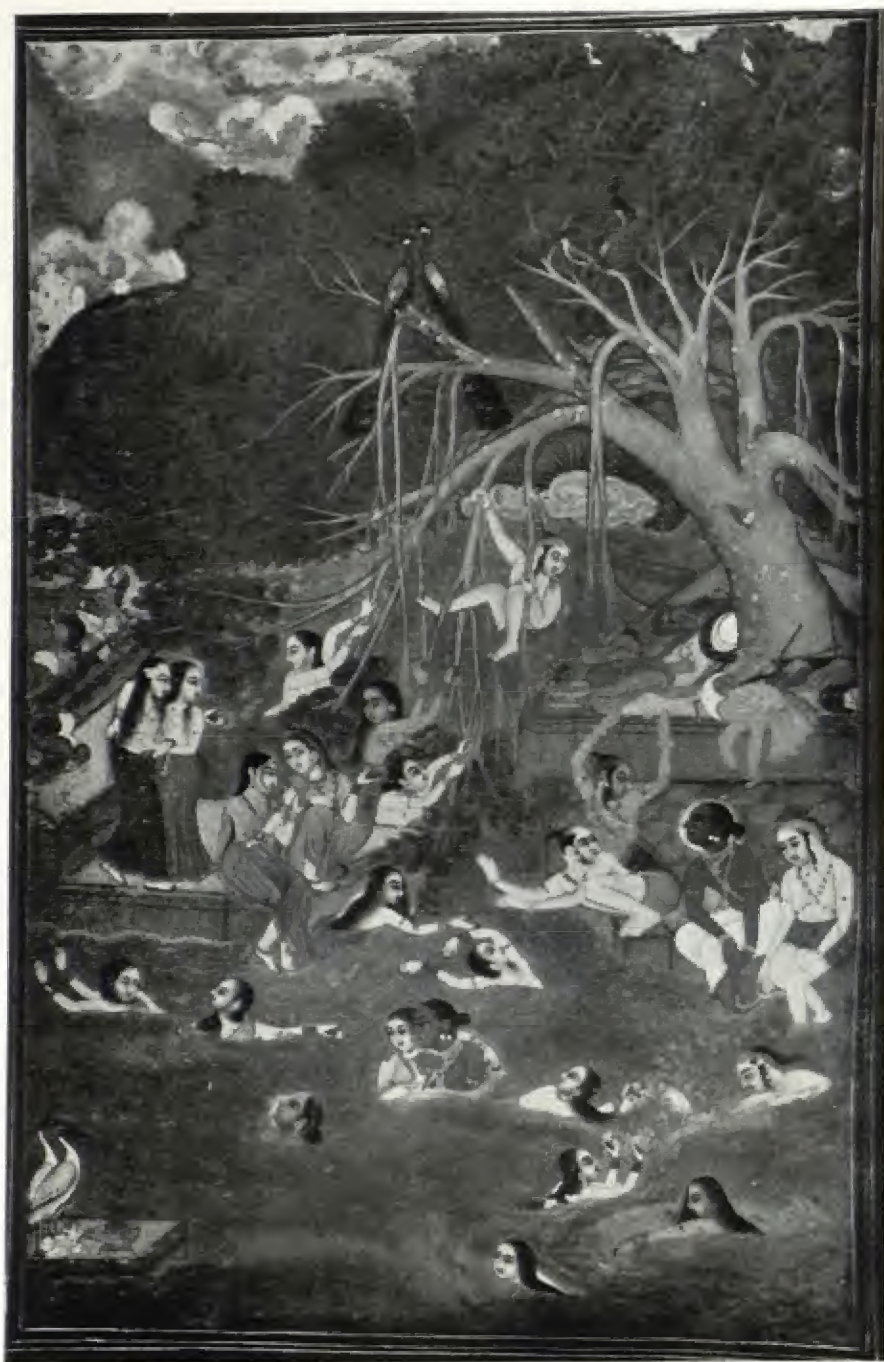
53.86.

Fig. 16.

*The Secret Meeting.*

Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.





52.20.

Fig. 17.  
*The Water Sport of Krishna.*  
Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



52.30.

Fig. 18.  
*Cowdust.*  
Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.





53.87.                      Fig. 19.  
                                    *The Timid Rādhā*  
Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



52.31.

Fig. 20.  
*Love Scene.*

Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.





52.35.

Fig. 21.

*Krishna and Rādhā.*

Rājasthānī School, Būndī. c. 1760-1770 A.D.



53.77.

Fig. 22.

Toḍī Rāgini.

Rājasthānī School, Būndī. Dated 1742-1743 A.D.

॥ वायव्यजनीजगनाय प्रणमः ॥  
 परे १२४





4



10



13



16



18



12



20



21

Fig. 23.  
Clay seals from Kasia and Rajghat.

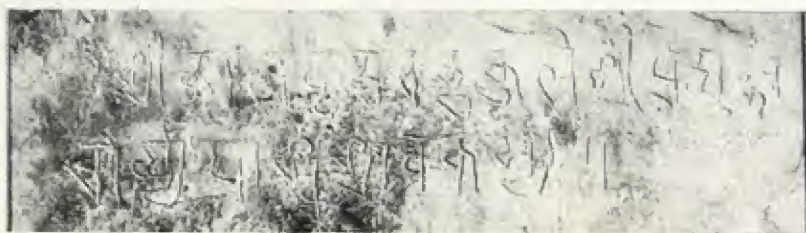


Fig. 21.  
Inscribed Jain image of Śāntinātha from Chopda  
8th century





Fig. 25-A.  
Image of Pārsvanātha (Front).  
c. 1st century B.C. (?)



Fig. 25-B.  
Image of Pārsvanātha (Back).



Fig. 25-C.  
Image of Pārsvanātha (Torso).



Fig. 26.  
Gomukha Yaksha with Worshippers.  
Ladol. Dated 1299 A.D.





Fig. 27.  
Goddess Chakresvari.  
Ladol. Dated 1299 A.D.



Fig. 28.  
Goddess Ambikā and other figures.  
Lādol, Dated 1239 A.D.





Fig. 29.  
*Upper half of a Tivthankara Image.*



Fig. 30.  
*Upper half of a Tirthankara Image.*



Plate XXXIII



Fig. 31.  
*The Chinkara or Indian Gazelle.*





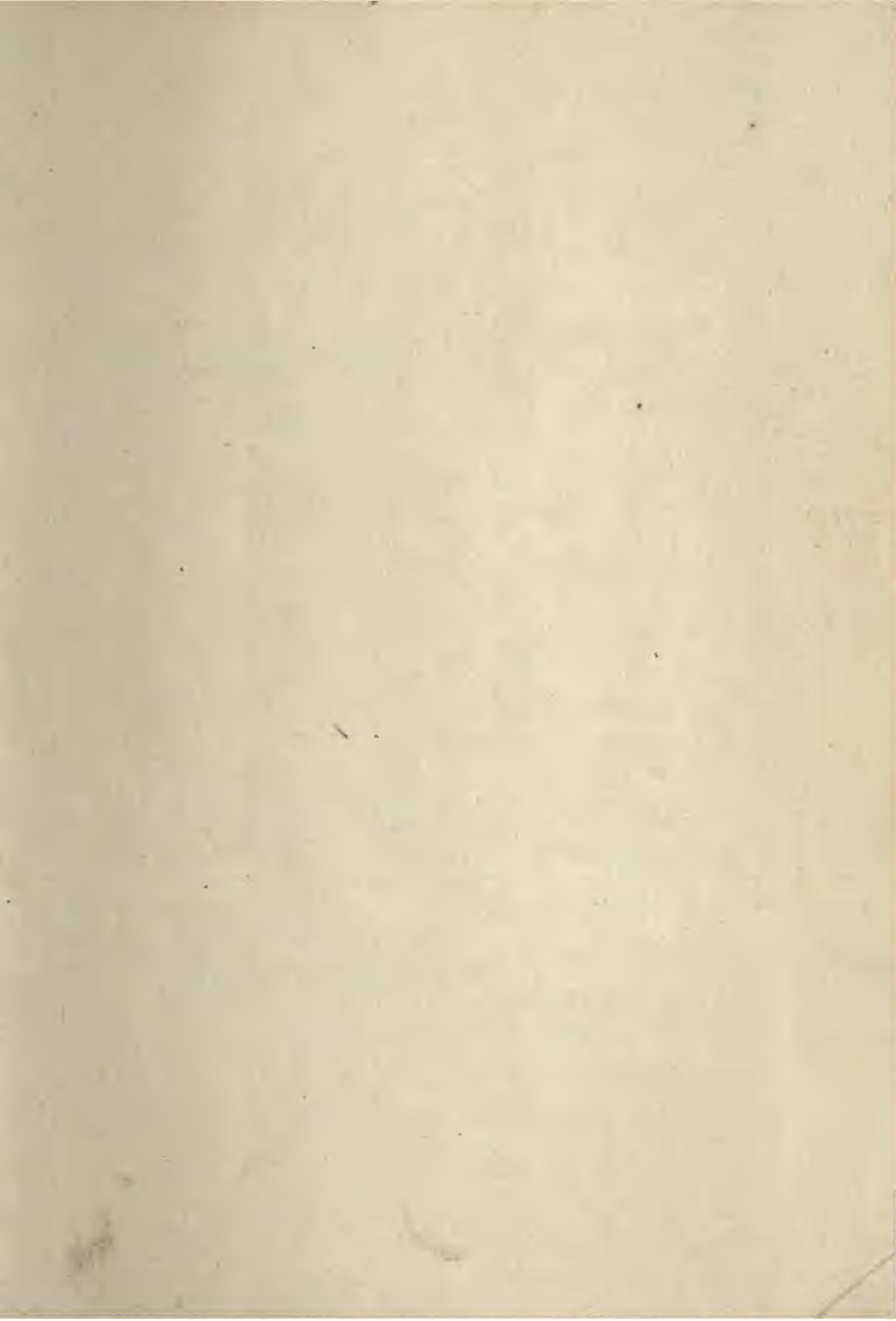
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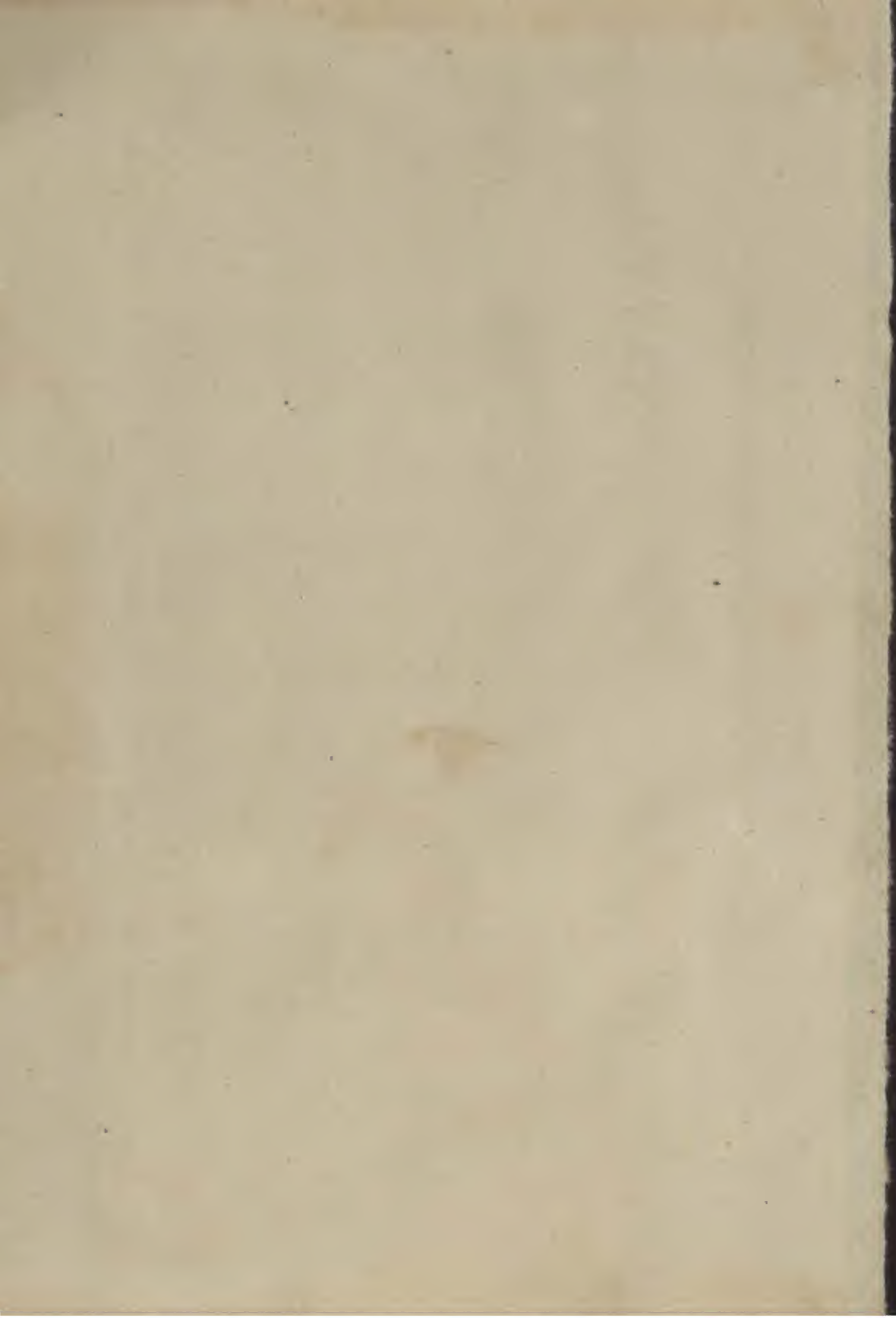
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	Rs. a. p.	each.
1. GUIDE TO THE BRAHMANICAL GALLERY (in Gujarati and Marathi) .. ..	0 2 0	„
2. CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT .. ..	5 0 0	„
3. A GUIDE TO THE PREHISTORIC GALLERY	1 0 0	„
4. ANIMALS IN INDIAN ART .. ..	0 6 0	„
5. THE ART BOOKLET .. ..	2 8 0	„
6. COLOURED PICTURE POSTCARDS .. ..	0 2 0	„
7. FOLDERS OF FEW PAINTINGS .. ..	1 0 0	„

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